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Contents

ON EDITING WESLEY'S LETTERS John Telford, B.A.

WILLIAM COWPER, 1731—1931

W. Bardsley Brash, B.D., M.A.; B.Litt.

HOW HELLENISM PREPARED THE WAY

Professor J. Alfred Faulkner

RELICS OF BYGONE LONDON

W. Lavallin Puxley

CYPRIANISM AND REUNION

A. Garfield Curnow

ODO OF CLUNY

W. G. Hanson

EVANGELISM AND ITS MODES OF EXPRESSION

Ernest G. Braham, M.A., B.D.

AESCHYLUS

S. G. Dimond, M.A.

BIOLOGY AND ITS WONDERS

The Editor

CREATURES OF THE MOUNTAIN-SIDE

J. C. Bristow-Noble

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS—

THE FERNLEY LECTURE FOR 1931 J. G. Tasker, D.D.

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W. Longdon Oakes, B.D.

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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER 1931

ON EDITING WESLEY'S LETTERS

The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.—Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Edited by JOHN TELFORD, B.A. (The Epworth Press: J. Alfred Sharp. Eight volumes, 8vo. £7 7s. 1931.)

BEFORE the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock died on November 1, 1915, it had been decided that an edition of Wesley's *Letters* must follow the Standard Edition of his *Journal*. Mr. Curnock's notes, 'See new edition of Wesley's *Letters*,' had indicated that this was clearly in view, and he had carefully gathered any letters which might be included. After his death the whole question of forming the collection and editing the letters had to be undertaken. The first edition of Wesley's *Works*, published in his lifetime, contained only a few controversial letters. Joseph Benson gathered 400; Thomas Jackson was able to include 900 in his edition of the *Works*; Richard Green swelled the number to 1,600.

The Wesley Historical Society lost no opportunity of adding to the store, and, when it was known that a Standard Edition was being prepared, letters were searched out and flowed in from all quarters, till the number has grown to the 2,700 included in the eight volumes just published.

Many questions had to be settled. It was resolved to include the controversial letters, for, as Dean Hutton said: 'The particular controversies in which he was continually engaged are for the most part exceedingly dusty now, but his own expressions about them are as fresh as ever. Most of all is this true when he deals with persons. He had a direct way of telling people their faults, and setting them right, which must have been extraordinarily unpleasing to the subjects of his wit or wisdom, but is extremely refreshing to ourselves.' That is true; it is also true that Wesley stood for

a new theology, which meant the sunshine of the soul, and set the feet of a great multitude on the way of holiness. Such letters are vital to the interpretation of the Evangelical Revival and claimed their place in the volumes, though it was necessary, lest they should overshadow briefer and more personal letters, to place them at the close of the volumes to which their date attached them, in the same type but rather more closely printed. It was also decided to arrange the letters in strict chronological order, not grouped, as in the *Works*, to individuals. The letters of the Oxford and Georgia periods, and the other main divisions of Wesley's life, were thus set side by side, with some leading dates prefixed, and a brief introduction to each section pointing out the chief features of the correspondence. Each volume gives, after the Contents, an alphabetical list of all the persons to whom letters are addressed in that volume, and from these lists it is possible to see how his correspondence grew, as Mrs. Pendarves and her sister, Ann Bolton, Peggy Dale, or preachers like Joseph Benson, Adam Clarke, Henry Moore, or friends like Samuel Furly and Alexander Knox, were occupying his attention.

The way the letters grow in number year by year is itself suggestive. They stretch from 1721 to 1791 without a break save for the years 1722 and 1728. In 1768, 61 have been preserved; in 1771, 86; in 1787, 101; in 1788, 139; in 1789, 145; in 1790, 103; in 1791, 27.

Earlier editors sometimes omitted passages which contained personal allusions or names, and joined together letters of different dates. Two letters which came into the possession of the British Museum last July will illustrate this. In the *Works* the first sentence of the letter of January 16, 1782, is joined to the letter of January 7 (see vii. 98 and 100); all the rest is omitted. The omitted part is of great interest, but it was probably left out from a fear that one preacher's success might make others jealous. 'This has been a very common case. And you can hardly conceive what a grievous

hindrance it has always been to the work of God.' The counsel given is a fine instance of Wesley's wisdom. Mr. Leach should do everything in his power to prevent this jealousy 'by an humble, condescending, obliging behaviour to his fellow labourers. And it will be prudent for you all not to speak too strongly in commendation of him in *their* hearing; for, you know, "the spirit that is in us lusteth to envy."' The other letter to Hester Ann Roe, dated September 16, 1776, omits the passage after 'patience [and gentleness]': 'If any particular place is proposed for their residence, you would [do] well to send me word immediately. They should not abruptly refuse to go; but it would be matter of prayer and consideration. Boarders at Kingswood pay twenty pounds a year. There is no entrance money or farther expense of any kind. The masters are men of sense, learning, and piety. They are all a family of love.'

In the last paragraph these sentences are omitted. 'Does He "bid you even in sleep go"? What do you usually dream of? . . . Are you entirely free of your cough and the pain in your side? Away with that thought, "I shall not have you long." Let our Lord see to that. Let us enjoy *to-day*.' Some of the sentences might well be omitted then, but how pleasantly they show Wesley's interest in a young friend who was to marry one of his most trusted preachers and to stand with him and her boy at Wesley's deathbed in 1791.

Whitehead and Moore, in their *Lives* of Wesley, omitted the first paragraph of his letter to Wilberforce on July 30, 1790. A poor man had been fined £20 because a few poor people met in his house in Lincolnshire to pray and praise. Wesley supposed he had not twenty shillings, but, when he appealed to the quarter sessions, all the justices averred that "the Methodists could have no relief from the Act of Toleration, because they went to Church," and that as long as they did so the Conventicle should be executed upon them.' The omitted paragraph is of extraordinary interest. 'Dear Sir,—When I had the pleasure of conversing with you some time

since, you was deeply engaged for the liberty of poor Africans. I cannot but think you are full as much concerned for the liberty of your own Countrymen. By this persuasion I am induced to mention to you a peculiar species of Oppression, which if it continue will soon reduce both me and many of my friends, either to violate our conscience or to want a piece of bread.' What a picture of the veteran evangelist in his eighty-eighth year pleading for justice and religious liberty, and seeking to get the champion of the slaves to speak a word to his friend William Pitt !

The Oxford letters now grouped together are of surpassing interest. The correspondence with Mrs. Pendarves is here first given in full, and in it Wesley reveals himself as courtier, wit, and friend, perhaps even as lover. I was able, last July, to visit the three villages—Buckland, Stanton, and Broadway—and to feel something of the magic of those friendships with Kirkhams, Granvilles, Toomers, and Griffiths, which opened a new world to the Wesleys. Any one who reads the letter to Ann Granville (i.103) can almost see Wesley on the crest of Horrel, above Stanton, sitting on the smooth turf, 'the trees overshadowing and surrounding us, the fields and meadows beneath, and the opposite hills, with the setting sun just glimmering over their brows.' Mrs. Pendarves and her sister talk with him of things which leave happy reflections behind them. In the three old churches Wesley was known as a preacher long before he went to Georgia. In old Broadway church on January 15, 1727, he preached the funeral sermon of his friend John Griffith, son of the vicar, who died suddenly five days before. He was probably Wesley's first convert, won as they attended a girl friend's funeral at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1725. 'Robin's' gown and some other personal belongings were sent by his parents to Wesley at Oxford.

The Oxford letters throw fresh light on the friendship with William Morgan and the relations to his father and his younger brother, who was a source of anxiety to the Wesleys at Oxford.

The Earl of Egmont's diary furnishes some interesting details as to Wesley's relations with the Georgia Trustees.

No omissions have been made in the letters in this edition. The autographs have been consulted and compared wherever possible, and some important discoveries have been made. The letter to Dr. Gibson (ii. 28) of February 8, 1745, was not written by John Wesley, as has been stated, but by Charles. Additions have been made to the beautiful letters to Peggy Dale, though some of them are still untraced. There are already indications that a supplementary volume will be called for by and by. We recently read two letters, hitherto unknown, which are in the possession of the Throgmorton family. They were written on February 11 and 24, 1780, to Dr. Berrington, chaplain to Sir John Throgmorton, who was in disfavour with Rome because he belonged to the Cisalpine Party. Wesley addresses him at 31 Portman Square and asks :

1. Was the public decision of the Council of Constance ever publicly declared ?

2. Has not the Bishop of Rome a power to dispense with oaths and vows ?

3. Has not every Roman Catholic priest a discretionary power to forgive sins ?

Dr. Berrington's reply is not forthcoming, but Wesley's letter of February 24 goes more fully into the subject.

Through the kindness of the Rev. T. E. Brigden we are able to give a letter to Robert Dodsley, whose copyright Wesley had infringed (see ii. 27). It is not in his handwriting, but it bears his signature. It is addressed to, 'Mr. Dodsley, Bookseller, in Pall Mall.'

' Windmill Hill,

' Dec. 12, 1744.

' S^r,

' I received an anonymous Letter to-day, which informs me you are displeas'd at my printing extracts of the *Night Thoughts* in " A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems."

'I am not conscious of having seen any Wrong herein, either to you or any other Person. If you apprehended I had, I sh'd have look'd upon it as a favour, had you given me any intimation thereof, at any time after my publishing y^e "Proposals for that Collection," and I w^d immediately have stay'd my hand.

'All I can do now is this. I am ready to refer y^e matter to any number of Arbitrators. And whatever damage they judge you to have sustain'd, I will willingly make good.

'I am,

'S^r, Your humble servant, JOHN WESLEY.'

Dodsley made him pay £50, and the three volumes were never reprinted.

Wesley's *Journal* gives a letter which he wrote to a friend on May 14, 1765. We have discovered that it was to John Newton, then at Olney. The *Olney Hymns* did not appear till 1769, but Wesley writes to Newton on April 9, 1765: 'I have just finished your *Narrative*, a remarkable proof, as you observe, that with God all things are possible. The objection current here, that you talk too much of Mrs. Newton, seems to me of no force at all. I cannot apprehend that you could well have spoken less or any otherwise than you do.' Five weeks later comes the letter in the *Journal*. Newton had written in November 1760: 'I honour and esteem you; I pray for your success, and sincerely rejoice in it.' He was finding difficulties in securing ordination, and Wesley evidently wished him to become an itinerant, yet he did not feel it practicable, though he loved the Methodists and vindicated them against aspersions on all occasions, to become one himself. 'I have not either strength of body or mind sufficient for an itinerant Preacher; my constitution has been broke for some years.' One wonders what would have happened if John Newton had joined Wesley in the evangelization of England.

One of the choicest of Wesley's correspondents was Lady Darcy Maxwell, whose husband died two years after their marriage, and her son and only child six weeks later. Twenty-four letters to her are in this collection, from June 1764 to September 30, 1788. She joined the Methodist Society in Edinburgh, and Wesley's letters to her show how he wanted her to be 'all a Christian; such a Christian as the Marquis de Renty or Gregory Lopez was; such an one as that saint of God, Jane Cooper, all sweetness, all gentleness, all love.' A letter from Wesley in 1767 refers to a trial out of which she said God had delivered her, and asks whether she had found a return of the trial she had mentioned. He had evidently spoken freely on some subject, for he says on September 9, 1768: 'It is impossible for me to give you pain without feeling it myself. And yet the manner wherein you receive my plain dealing gives me pleasure too.' A letter that has come into Mr. Lamplough's hands since this collection was published throws a flood of light on these references. It was naturally of too private a nature to appear in her lifetime.

London, Nov. 30, 1769.

MY DEAR LADY,—How can I help both loving and esteeming you? so do you approve yourself unblamable in all things. From all evil, whether in Design or Action I must wholly acquit you. Whether there was any appearance of evil, it is not quite so easy to determine. But here a difficulty stands in the way: I am afraid of giving you pain again. And yet how can I avoid it in so delicate a subject, without using Reserve, wch surely shou'd have no place, between me and a Friend that is as my own soul. I will then (as I always chuse to do in conversing with *you*) 'think aloud.' If there is reason to believe, that a Person [is] in love with you, nay, if he takes no pains to conceal it, tho' you are entirely free on your part, is it not advisable, to keep at a distance from him? Is not this most suitable to that amiable character.

No conquest she, but o'er Herself desired:
No art assayed, but not to be admired!

Here indeed I am constrain'd to make great allowance (My Dear Friend, take care I do not hurt you!) to the ['to the' is repeated] gentleness and sweetness of your temper, unwilling to give pain to any one. To this I impute your taking with you that only Person, against whom this objection lay who is generally supposed to be in love with

you, whether he is or no ; and who certainly does not, and never did, endeavour to clear himself from the imputation. This wou'd naturally incline those who did not know you very well, to believe y^t you gave him encouragement. Certainly it had this appearance. And it is no wonder, that many cou'd not distinguish Appearance from Reality.

To me, *your* Word is abundantly sufficient to clear up any point in question. Go on in the name and in the power of Him that loves you, to seek and find your Happiness in Him ! He has succour'd you in the trying Hour. He has led you thro' y^e enemy's land. He has been with you in fire, and in the Water. He will be your guide even unto Death !

I am, My Dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate Servant,

To the Lady Maxwell,
In Wariston's Close,
Edinburgh.

JOHN WESLEY.
Postmark
2
Dec.

She survived Wesley nearly twenty years and never remarried.

The Appendix to the eight volumes made it clear that new matter will now come in, and this fine letter to Lady Maxwell is another treasure which Mr. Lamplough secured late in July and allows us to share with readers of the *London Quarterly*.

Illustrations are not always easy to select for such a work as this, but the photogravure frontispiece in each volume adds to its value. That of William Morgan is unique, and the debt of Methodism to that devoted Irishman can never be repaid. The portraits of Mrs. Pendarves and her sister carry us to the beginning of Wesley's career, and Ann Granville's letter of December 1731—'Is not Araspes' hymn quite charming?'—is the first tribute to the great hymn-writer, and helps us to date Charles Wesley's poetic gift six years earlier than we had previously been able to do. The young lady is concerned for her friend John Wesley : 'Sure Cyrus cannot sit without a fire this weather. I hope the good Society prospers ; one way I'm sure they do. I often think of them, especially when the cold makes me shrink. They are those that are chosen of peculiar grace ; the influence of it

will, I hope, extend to their weaker brethren.' Wesley's room at Lincoln College as restored by American Methodists and the New Room at Bristol also appear in the illustrations.

The facsimiles include the first letter of 1721 in its exquisite writing; the first letter to Mrs. Wesley after their marriage; letters to Peggy Dale, the Rev. Thomas Davenport; to Freeborn Garrettson, who ranks next to Asbury in American Methodism; to Jonathan Edmondson, with the old man's last sigh over Sophia Hopkey; a hitherto unknown letter about the Paraguay Indians; and the letter to Dr. Coke of September 5, 1789, in which the veteran says, 'I wish you to Obey "the Powers that be" in America; but I wish you to understand them.'

The page of a little volume of Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament* which had found its way to New Zealand makes its own appeal. Most interesting of all are the strangely recovered pages of the *Journal* for December 1751, which show that within ten months of their marriage Mrs. Wesley's jealousy, which finally wrecked their happiness, was causing trouble. The first sentence which is in shorthand is ominous: 'My wife upon a supposition that I did not love her, and that I trusted others more than her, had often fretted herself almost to Death. I was always enabled to accept it at God's hands and calmly to say Why doth a living man complain? Nevertheless I determin'd, to use all means; and to-day I explain'd with her at large. By y^e Blessing of God y^e Cloud vanished away, and we were united as at the beginning.' Unhappily, the cloud returned.

There is no lack of spice or humour in the letters. On October 7, 1773, Wesley tells Christopher Hopper, 'Peter Jaco would willingly travel. But how? Can you help us to an horse that would carry him and his wife? What a pity we could not procure a camel or an elephant?' Jaco was tall and handsome, trusted and loved by Wesley, and both he and his wife must have had a good laugh over this friendly gibe.

How tender are the letters to Arthur Keene (viii. 3, 5) about his dying child : ' You have all need of patience while you hear every day that poor little maid bemoaning herself. She is permitted thus to linger in pain, not only for her own sake (seeing the greater her sufferings are here the greater will be her reward) ; but likewise for your sakes, that your " wills may be melted down and take the mould divine." ' A few days later he writes : ' We may see the mercy of God in removing your little one into a better world. It was a mercy for you as well as for her. I was afraid she would have continued in pain long enough to have taken her mother with her. But God does all things well. You must now take care that she may have more air and exercise than she has lately had. Otherwise she may find many ill effects of her late confinement.'

The Rev. T. E. Brigden has been comparing the letters with those of the chief English letter-writers, and feels that Wesley does not suffer by the comparison. They show that he is entitled to a much higher place than is generally assigned to him in English literature. He singles out the letter on style (iv. 256), written on July 15, 1764, as one of the most striking of his letters.

Liverpool, July 15, 1764.

DEAR SAMMY,—I have had many thoughts, since we parted, on the subject of our late conversation. I send you them just as they occur. ' What is it that constitutes a *good style* ? ' Perspicuity and purity, propriety, strength, and easiness, joined together. Where any one of these is wanting, it is not a good style. Dr. Middleton's style wants easiness : it is *stiff* to an high degree. And stiffness in writing is full as great a fault as stiffness in behaviour. It is a blemish hardly to be excused, much less to be imitated. He is *pedantic*. ' It is pedantry,' says the great Lord Boyle, ' to use an hard word where an easier will serve.' Now, this the doctor continually does, and that of set purpose. It is abundantly too artificial—*Artis est celare artem* ; but his art glares in every sentence. He continually says, ' Observe how fine I speak ! ' Whereas a good speaker seems to forget he speaks at all. His full round curls naturally put one in mind of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's peruke, that ' eternal buckle takes in Parian stone.' Yet this very fault may appear a beauty to you, because you are apt to halt on the same foot. There is a stiffness both in your carriage and speech and something of it in your very familiarity. But for this very

reason you should be jealous of yourself and guard against your natural infirmity. If you imitate any writer, let it be South, Atterbury, or Swift, in whom *all* the properties of a good writer meet. I was myself once much fonder of Prior than Pope; as I did not then know that stiffness was a fault. But what in all Prior can equal for beauty of style some of the first lines that Pope ever published?—

Poets themselves must die, like those they sung,
Deaf the praised ear, and mute the tuneful tongue;
E'en he whose heart now melts in tender lays,
Shall shortly want the generous tear he pays.
Then from his eyes thy much-loved form shall part;
And the last pang shall tear thee from his heart:
Life's idle business at one gasp be o'er,
The Muse forgot, and thou beloved no more.

Here is style! How clear, how pure, proper, strong! and yet how amazingly easy! This crowns all; no stiffness, no hard words; no *apparent* art, no affectation; all is natural, and therefore consummately beautiful. Go thou and *write* likewise.

As for me, I never think of my style at all; but just set down the words that come first. Only when I transcribe anything for the Press, then I think it my duty to see every phrase be clear, pure, and proper. Conciseness (which is now, as it were, natural to me) brings *quantum sufficit* of strength. If, after all, I observe any stiff expression, I throw it out, neck and shoulders.

For homely detail the letter of April 28, 1738 (i. 238) may be singled out: 'I left two little books (which I want, as well as my shoes) at your house—A. M. Schurman and Corbet. If my brother is gone, you will buy the leathern bags for Mr. Kinchin. I think he says they cost but half a guinea. But if it be more, it will be repaid with thanks. The shop at Charing Cross is the place.'

That practical homeliness was indeed one of the secrets of Wesley's success in shaping and guiding Methodism to the end of his life. Nothing was overlooked. Both preachers and people looked up to him as a leader who was more far-seeing than any of themselves.

How Wesley prized his preachers is seen in his letter to Dr. Rutherford (v. 360): 'I am bold to affirm that these unlettered men have help from God for that great work, the saving souls from death; seeing He hath enabled, and doth enable them still, to turn many to righteousness.' He trusts

there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination in substantial, practical, experimental divinity as few of our candidates for Holy Orders even in the University are able to do.

He says 'Most of the travelling preachers with me are not ignorant men.' Some of them understood the languages well, and had a good knowledge of philosophy. 'They understand both one and the other better than great part of my pupils at the University did.' Thomas Walsh holds a high place. He tells his brother (iii. 183): 'I love, admire, and honour him, and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit.'

His vigilant oversight of Methodism was never relaxed, nor did any lapse from the high standard which he set before his people make him forget the service they had rendered in happier days. William Shent, the barber, found a strong champion when he was forsaken by old friends in his financial straits. Charles Wesley wrote to his brother: 'I shall be happy to hear you have saved poor William Shent.' Here is Wesley's appeal to the Society at Keighley.

London, *January 11, 1779.*

I have a few questions which I desire may be proposed to the Society at Keighley.

Who was the occasion of the Methodist preachers first setting foot in Leeds? William Shent.

Who received John Nelson into his house at his first coming thither? William Shent.

Who was it that invited me and received me when I came? William Shent.

Who was it that stood by me while I preached in the street with stones flying on every side? William Shent.

Who was it that bore the storm of persecution for the whole town and stemmed it at the peril of his life? William Shent.

Whose word did God bless for many years in an eminent manner? William Shent's.

By whom were many children now in paradise begotten in the Lord and many now alive? William Shent.

Who is he that is ready now to be broken up and turned into the street? William Shent.

And does nobody care for this? William Shent fell into sin and was publicly expelled the Society; but must he be also starved?

Must he with his grey hairs and all his children be without a place to lay his head? Can you suffer this? O tell it not in Gath? Where is gratitude? Where is compassion? Where is Christianity! Where is humanity? Where is concern for the cause of God? Who is a wise man among you? Who is concerned for the gospel? Who has put on bowels of mercy? Let him arise and exert himself in this matter. You here all arise as one man and roll away the reproach. Let us set him on his feet once more. It may save both him and his family. But what we do, let it be done quickly.—I am, dear brethren,
Your affectionate brother.

He was always young in spirit and the letters show how he stirred up his young correspondents to service for others. He writes to Elizabeth Ritchie on July 15, 1766: 'The word of our Lord to you is, "Feed My lambs." Methinks I see you giving yourself up, as far as possibly you can, to that blessed work; carrying the weak, as it were, in your bosom, and gently leading the rest to the waters of comfort. Meantime your own soul will enjoy a well of water springing up into everlasting life. If you find any perplexing temptation in your way, you should not scruple to let me know. Youth is the season for many of the most dangerous temptations incident to human nature. But, indeed, you are preserved from many of them by your settled determination to slight all dreams of creature happiness and give your heart to Him who alone is worthy.'

Wesley is recognized as a national character and his relation to the Lowthers, to Lord Dartmouth, Lord North, William Wilberforce and other leading men of the eighteenth century adds to the value and interest of his letters. He bore himself to them all as a Christian minister who never shrank from warning them against the temptations of the world and appealing to their high sense of duty. The letters to Lady Huntingdon, to Mr. Blackwell, and to Sir James Lowther show how faithful and fearless he was.

Letters, diaries, and journals figure largely in the biography of to-day. The letters are now edited, Mr. Brigden says, not merely with accurate care, but are based on facts and documents which make them one of the most reliable works

on Wesley and Methodism. It is not easy to estimate the amount of care needed to unravel the allusions which are sometimes found in a single letter to his brother Charles. Nor has it been easy to trace all the quotations, though not a few have yielded to research which other friends have shared. Wesley's reading was wide and varied, and the careful notes which he took in his Oxford days were of service to him to the latest days of his life. The Evangelical Revival owed its tone to the scholarship as well as the religious fervour of John and Charles Wesley. It made the converts both read and think, and Wesley never ceased to urge upon them that religion would die out in a single generation if the Methodists were not a reading people. His patience with Samuel Furly comes out in the letter of March 20, 1762 (viii. 271) : ' Still, Sammy, I take knowledge, you are a young man ; and as such, extremely peremptory. So was I, till I was more than thirty years old. So I may well make allowance for *you*. I was likewise as much *bigoted* to my own opinions as you can be for your life ; that is, I thought them deeply *important*, and that all contrary opinions were damnable errors. Have patience and you will see farther. In a few years you will find out that neither these are half so *necessary* to salvation, nor those half so destructive as you now imagine.'

Some recognition of my helpers is given in the volumes, but no words can describe their interest and their helpfulness from first to last. Fifteen years spent in editing these letters have deepened an editor's respect for one with whom he has lived in daily company. The letters are more intimate than the *Journal*. Letters like Wesley's allow no disguise, nor does he need it. He is one of the men whom England honours, and the letters will increase that honour. His soul is in his mission. His heart is with preachers and friends. He has no secrets from them, but feels that he and his itinerants are a larger Charterhouse company of ' poor gentlemen ' living and sacrificing much for God and others, and not living in vain.

JOHN TELFORD.

WILLIAM COWPER, 1731-1931

TWO hundred years ago, William Cowper was born. The story of his life is well known, and we do not intend to tell it again. We purpose, however, to show how he claims our love and gratitude. The tragic side of his life has been dwelt upon far too much. We cannot understand him unless we remember it, but it is by no means the main story. He is not great because of his madness. His poetry, his incomparable letters, his charm, his own delightful personality, his quick eye for people and situations, and his courage, tell of his true and deathless fame. It is upon these things we love to linger. We remember, however, that the light of his mirth, his courage, his delightful courtesy, and unfailling charm, flash forth from a dark and mysterious background. The portrait is Rembrandtesque, and it wins us by its appealing individuality. It has been our joy for many years to love Cowper. The reason is simple ; we can do no other. To know him is to love him. It is so now : it was so in the days of his life. He cast his spell upon many. We know he loved his cousin, Theodora, and that her father forbade their marriage. But she could never forget him, and so, through the long years, gifts came to him from the one whom he called Mr. Anonymous, who was, he thought, someone unknown to him, but was in reality his old lover. Her sister, who became Lady Hesketh, and to whom Cowper wrote ' weekly, and sometimes twice in the week,' could not break the spell of his charm. We know how for long periods she dwelt at Olney, and at Weston Underwood, coming with her train of servants, and her eager love for her cousin, not only to be near to help him, but also to share his delightful company. The attractions of London and of Society were not as alluring to her as the company of William Cowper.

He had the gift of giving himself in his friendships, as we see in his message to Lady Hesketh: 'You have had a sister's place in my affections ever since I knew you.' They loved to be together, and in their correspondence we realize something of the delight which they had in one another's company. It was to Lady Hesketh that he wrote, 'When I read your letters, I hear you talk, and I love talking letters, especially from you.'

We must remember that for twenty-eight years William Cowper lived either in Olney or in the neighbouring village of Weston Underwood, and thus was cut off from town life. During all these years, he never slept away from his home, except for a few days in Cambridge, during his brother's fatal illness, and for two months, when he visited the poet Hayley at his home at Eartham, in Sussex. Yet, despite his being separated from so many of the opportunities of society, his story tells of many beautiful friendships. Olney, in the days of Cowper, was a place of pilgrimage, and then, as now, he drew them thither. To Olney, came Hayley, the poet and friend of Blake. Lawrence, Abbott, and Romney sketched or painted his portrait. Lawrence and Abbott both visited Cowper at Weston Underwood. Cowper was a recluse, yet he could not be hid. It is true that he loved solitude, but with a difference—so he sang:

I praise the Frenchman, his remarks are shrewd—
 'How sweet, how passing sweet, is solitude!
 But grant me still a friend in my retreat,
 Whom I may whisper, solitude is sweet.'

(*'Retirement.'*)

He certainly welcomed into his solitude Lady Austen. He writes to Lady Hesketh of his new friend: 'She had lived much in France, was very sensible, and had infinite vivacity.' We know how she inspired him to write 'John Gilpin,' and 'The Task,' 'On the Loss of the *Royal George*,' and suggested that he should translate Homer. She certainly found his company more thrilling than French or English

Society, and his quick and sensitive nature swiftly responded to her vivacity. It says much for the charm of Cowper that this bright and high-spirited woman was lured to leave the gay world and make her home in quiet, rural Olney. Here she dwelt at the Rectory, from the garden of which there was an entrance to Cowper's. He writes of her to John Newton, and says, 'Lady Austen is a lively, agreeable woman; has seen much of the world, and accounts it a great simpleton, as it is. She laughs, and makes laugh, and keeps up a conversation without seeming to labour at it.' Again he says of her, 'Lady Austen was the cleverest and most entertaining woman in the world.' This friendship lasted for three years, and then suddenly came to an end. The reason for its close has been much debated, but we think that Lady Austen desired to marry the poet, and that Cowper grew alarmed when he realized that his merry friendship had been mistaken for love. Marriage with Lady Austen was out of the question, for at this time he was fifty-three, and his last derangement had made it impossible to do what he desired—to marry Mary Unwin. How could he have married—if marriage had been possible—any other than the faithful Mary Unwin? The situation became impossible; the three—Mary Unwin, Lady Austen, and William Cowper—could no longer remain together, so Lady Austen slips out of the Olney life. Lord David Cecil rightly says of this period: 'No man in the world can live permanently in the same house with two strong-willed women, both violently in love with him. Indeed, only a man of supreme tact and dexterity in personal matters could have done it as long as Cowper did. Mary had submitted to Lady Austen's presence as long as she felt it held no danger for her; for she was glad of anything that amused Cowper. But in time she did begin to suspect danger, and then the very same qualities that made her Cowper's slave in most matters made her his master in this. Her love was intense, self-sacrificing, exclusive. She would die for him, but she would never share him.' So Lady Austen

passes out of Cowper's life. But not so Mary Unwin. The friendship of William Cowper and Mary Unwin was stronger than death, and the story of it is fragrant with a most tender and perfect love. She did indeed feel the spell of Cowper, and he has immortalized his love for her in his well-known poem, 'Mary! I want a lyre with other strings,' and in one of the world's most tender poems, written after Mary Unwin was smitten with a stroke in 1791—'To Mary.' That poem is Mary Unwin's imperishable reward for a love that never failed. Surely she entered into the holy of holies of love. We will let Cowper tell the story. He is writing of his hallucinations and madness (in 1773): 'At the same time that I was convinced of Mrs. Unwin's aversion to me, I could endure no other companion. The whole management of me consequently devolved upon her, and a terrible task she had; she performed it with a cheerfulness hardly ever equalled on such an occasion; and I have often heard her say that if she ever praised God in her life it was when she found that she was to have all the labour. She performed it accordingly, but, as I hinted before, very much to the hurt of her constitution.'

Women certainly felt the charm of his shy, but attractive personality—and men also. We all know the love which John Newton had for Cowper. Theirs was a deep friendship—one that has been often misunderstood, and sometimes cruelly traduced. Some have, with all the evidence against them, made John Newton responsible for Cowper's madness. That charge is utterly ridiculous. Cowper's first derangement happened fifteen years, and his second derangement four years, before he first met John Newton. We think that Lord David Cecil has said the final word on this subject: 'It has been a commonplace of subsequent literary history that madness was brought on by the faith. A commonplace, but not a truth; Cowper's madness finds its origin far deeper in the sufferings of childhood, it may be in inherent physical defects. All his life it hung over him. And

religion, so far from being the cause, was the most considerable of the remedies by which he tried to get rid of it.' Cowper and Newton were true and lasting friends. They were together in Olney from 1767 to 1780. They kept up, after Newton's leaving Olney, an unbroken correspondence. The last extant letter of Cowper's (written on April 11, 1799) was written to Newton. We will not discuss the effect that this friendship had upon Cowper's nervous system. We think that Newton was not always as conscious as he might have been of the perils of publicity to Cowper. We know that Newton always loved him, and that for a year and five months he nursed Cowper in the Rectory during a long derangement. Let all critics of Newton remember that. Newton has often been blamed; and, although he was sometimes lacking in imaginative insight, there is another side to that story. Newton writes at the end of this period: 'Upon the whole, I have not been weary of my Cross. Besides the submission I owe to the Lord, I think I can hardly do or suffer too much for such a friend. Yet sometimes my heart has been impatient and rebellious.' We do not wonder at that. Out of this friendship there came 'The Olney Hymns.' We make bold to say that no single publication of hymns has made a greater contribution to the Church than this one.

Another man who felt Cowper's charm was William Unwin, the son of Mary Unwin. To him Cowper wrote—counting only the published letters—128 letters. He thus stands third on the list of Cowper's correspondents, Lady Hesketh being first with 166 letters, and John Newton second with 163. To Unwin, Cowper wrote some of his best letters, and, as every good letter is written both by the writer and the receiver, this is a tribute of the sympathy and understanding which existed between these two men. Another friend of Cowper's was that most able and pipe-smoking Nonconformist divine, William Bull, of Newport Pagnell. All readers of the letters of Cowper will remember many references to him,

and how these two men enjoyed the company of one another. It was William Bull who introduced Cowper to Madame Guyon's poems, which Cowper translated into English verse. He writes of him: 'I have a neighbour at Newport Pagnell, the Rev. Mr. Bull, master of an academy there, a man of genius, fine taste, and consummate erudition. I will say of him that he has few, if any, superiors in learning in the country. He is my intimate friend, and dines with us once a fortnight all the year round.' Cowper further writes of William Bull, 'He has a tender and delicate sort of melancholy in his disposition. . . . No men are better qualified for companions in such a world as this, than men of such a temperament.' Cowper not only was much in his company, but also wrote letters to him, playfully addressing him as *Optime Taurorum*. It is clear that Cowper's charm was realized by this learned Dissenting minister.

It would be easy to add the names of other friends of Cowper—such as the family of Throckmorton at Weston Underwood; Joseph Hill, with whom he had been a student of the Inner Temple, and who was his lifelong friend; John Johnson whom Cowper called Johnny of Norfolk, and who cared for Cowper in his last dark days at East Dereham. We think, however, that enough has been said to show the way in which Cowper, by the sheer charm of his personality, won to himself a band of devoted and admiring friends, who loved his company and sought it.

The charm that was so manifest in his life is still felt by those who read his letters. There is something so delightfully friendly about him. He talks to us as we scan his letters. What he says of Lady Austen's conversation is true of his letters—'She keeps up a conversation without seeming to labour at it.' His style is so simple, so flexible; so homely. Charles Lamb, in writing to Coleridge, said what all Cowper's lovers rejoice to read: 'But you conciliate matters when you talk of the "divine chit-chat" of

Cowper—by the expression I see that you thoroughly relish them.' His letters do indeed tell of 'divine chit-chat.' He gives us the gossip of Olney, pictures the homely scene of that little rural town, introduces us to his friends, makes vividly present for us the little 'Olney' happenings of the eighteenth century, and always reveals himself. There is nothing foppish about him; he never appears in rich brocade, but the simplicity and perspicuity of his writing makes us—as Charles Lamb says—'thoroughly relish him.' He writes those letters which he loved so much himself—'talking letters.' There is a strange balance of careful and easy writing in his letters. He was fastidious in his style, and never wrote carelessly or loosely. He writes of this to Lady Hesketh: 'Now, my dear, understand thou this: if there lives a man who stands clear of the charge of careless writing, I am that man.' His praise of Lady Hesketh's letters tells us really of himself: 'It has long been an agreed point betwixt Mrs. Unwin and myself that your letters are the best in the world. You will say, "That is impossible, for I always write what comes uppermost, and never trouble myself either about method or expression." And for that very reason, my dear, they are what they are, so good that they could not be better.' We learn his way of letter-writing when he writes to Johnny of Norfolk, 'I never aim at anything above the pitch of every day's scribbling, when I write to those I love.' There is nothing extravagant or bizarre in his writing, but something homely, and, in the best sense, familiar. Writing of the letters of Samuel Johnson, he says they 'pleased me chiefly on this account, that though on all other occasions he wrote like nobody, in his letters he expresses himself somewhat in the style of other folks.' It is true that he starts where he wishes, and ends where he likes, but, after all, that is the way in the Caucus Race in *Alice in Wonderland*, and there, as in Cowper's letters also, all get a prize. Reading these letters, we realize that his mind is of such an order that no matter how trifling the affair is of which he writes,

he will give it a certain livingness, and that never for a moment will he tire or weary us.

He always had his eye on the object, and he describes what he sees, what he feels, and what he thinks. The result is that we know his haire, the arbour in which he writes, the little garden, the streets of Olney, the slow, winding, and sleepy Ouse, the 'cosy parlour' of his home, and the ordinary happenings of that little Midland town. How playful he is! How pretty is his wit, and how delicate is his humour! He writes of an election-contest, and the eager candidate—just a few lines, so easily written, and yet giving to us an abiding memory of that scene. We must quote a little here—for the sheer joy of laughing once again at his delightful humour. 'We were sitting yesterday after dinner, the two ladies (Mrs. Unwin and Lady Austen) and myself, very composedly, and without the least apprehension of any such intrusion in our snug parlour, one lady knitting, the other netting, and the gentleman winding worsted, when to our unspeakable surprise, a mob appeared before the window; a smart rap was heard at the door, the boys hallo'd, and the maid announced Mr. Grenville. The hare, Puss, was unfortunately let out of the box, so that the candidate, with all his good friends at his heels, was refused admittance at the grand entry, and referred to the back door, as the only possible way of approach. Candidates are creatures not very susceptible of affronts, and would rather, I suppose, climb in at a window than be absolutely excluded.' He next describes in his inimitable way the interview, and then speaks of the candidate's exit. 'Mr. Grenville squeezed me by the hand again, kissed the ladies, and withdrew. He kissed likewise the maid in the kitchen, and seemed on the whole a most loving, kissing, kind-hearted gentleman.' We will only make two comments on this letter—first, the candidate won this election, and rightly so, for such 'kissing' zeal ought to be rewarded; secondly, the letter was written to John Newton, and letters of this order are not written to

those who are morose and void of humour. In passing, we wish also to point out that the famous letter about the escape of the hare—Puss—was also written to Newton.

His love of Milton led him to resent most strongly Dr. Johnson's strictures of that poet. In a letter to William Unwin, which we quote in order to show Cowper's devotion to Milton, and to recall how merrily he castigates Johnson, he says, 'Was there ever anything so delightful as the music of *Paradise Lost*? It is like a fine organ, has the fullest and deepest tones of majesty, with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end, and never equalled, unless, perhaps, by Virgil. Yet the Doctor has little or nothing to say upon this copious theme, but talks something about the unfitness of the English language for blank verse. Oh! I could thresh his old jacket, till I made his pension jingle in his pocket. I could talk a good while longer, but I have no room.' We have included the last sentence, because it shows that Cowper thought that he talked with his pen. He was, indeed, right in his belief. How wonderfully Cowper etches his pictures—a few firm lines, and all suffused with a charming homeliness. We will give one more illustration. It is from a letter written to his old schoolfellow and barrister friend of the years—Joseph Hill, who looked after his money affairs, and whom he called his 'Chancellor of the Exchequer.' 'How different is the complexion of your evenings and mine. Yours spent amid a ceaseless hum that proceeds from the inside of fifty noisy and busy periwigs, mine by a domestic fireside, in a retreat as silent as retirement can make it, where no noise is made, but what we make for our own amusement. For instance, here are two rustics (Mary Unwin and Lady Austen) and your humble servant in company. One of the ladies has been playing on the harpsicord, while I, with the other, have been playing at battledore and shuttlecock. A little dog, in the meantime, howling under the chair of the former, performed in the vocal way to our admiration. This

entertainment over, I began my letter, and, having nothing more to communicate, have given you an account of it. I know you love dearly to be idle, when you can find the opportunity to be so; but as such opportunities are rare with you, I thought it possible that a short description of the idleness I enjoy might give you pleasure. The happiness we cannot call our own, we yet seem to possess, while we sympathize with our friends who can.'

Cowper's poetry will always claim readers, for his place is secure in the history of song. He was a pioneer, and called the world to the beautiful and simple scenes, and sung of them with simplicity and feeling. We find his poems lead to green pastures and still waters, and he has for us the gift of peace. His letters, however, speak of his highest claim to literary greatness. We love the letters of Keats, of Fitzgerald, of Charles Lamb, but not more than those of William Cowper. For they tell of one who can never die—of one whose bi-centenary we do well to remember, not only for what he wrote, but also for what he was. We begin by loving the letters, and then we love the man who wrote them. The dark clouds were over his head, the thunders of terror roared, and he wrote 'John Gilpin,' and 'The Task,' worked at his translation of Homer, and his notes on Milton, wrote his delightful and playful letters—worked in his garden, watched the growth of his cucumbers, loved his hares, and revealed a dauntless and deathless courage. The forces of life seemed to league themselves against him, but he worked on, and has won his prize. Surely the outstanding fact is not revealed in those days when the light of reason failed him, but in his unflinching love of God's world and God's children—in his noble and passionate love of freedom, in his delicate wit and humour, in his song, his letters, and in his charming and so vital personality. His charm still holds men, and his many lovers know that his spell cannot be denied or broken.

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His last days seem inexpressibly sad. Mary Unwin

passes away—but still lives for ever. Cowper sinks deeper and deeper into melancholy, and writes that great and terrible poem, 'The Castaway':

But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelmed in deeper gulfs than he.

Deeper and deeper he sinks. Dr. Lubbock, of Norwich, who called upon him one day, when Cowper was drawing near to death, inquired how he felt. 'Feel?' replied Cowper, 'I feel unutterable despair.' Miss Perowne, his faithful nurse, asked him to take food, and he replied, 'What can it signify?' It is not upon that we would linger, but on this. He died in the home of his faithful and loving relative, Johnny of Norfolk, who said of Cowper as he lay dead: 'The expression with which his countenance had settled was that of calmness and composure, mingled, as it were, with holy surprise.' Cowper surely entered into the inner meaning of his own words, 'Sometimes a light surprises.' He awoke out of the dark night into the dawn, and eternal light doth indeed shine upon him.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

Triumphs in Bird Life. By Professor C. J. Patten. (Watts & Co. 7d.; 1s.) The triumphs of flight, of song, of love, of beauty, of use, of vision, were given as wireless addresses. They are rich in vivid detail such as only an expert observer could give. We see the herring-gull sail past, watch the wheeling albatross, look on at courting birds, and learn how birds assist the farmer with his crops. It is a book that every one will enjoy.

Christ's Message to us To-day, by W. P. G. McCormick (Longmans & Co., 2s.), gives his six broadcast addresses from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. They bring out the Positiveness of Christianity, its Crux, its Hope, its True Spirit, and its Necessary Fellowship. The first address dwells on the whole-hearted belief in the nearness of God; the necessity of living by love; the Christ outlook on life and men. The last address insists that men must get together and work together to build the Kingdom of God. Each talk is lucid, pointed, practical, and helpful. It is a little book with a great message, and a message much needed to-day.

HOW HELLENISM PREPARED THE WAY¹

THE pagan world of culture in Christ's time knew nothing of a holy God of creation, whose love, through forgiveness of sins and communication of the Spirit, brings back and unites fallen man to himself, and thus founds the Kingdom of God, who will reign over all. But Hellenism did come part way ; that coming half way was a preparation for the world preaching.

(1) Its ideal of a world State, realized partly by Alexander the Great, paved the way for the thought of the Kingdom of God. The Book of Daniel already had that idea. The Septuagint, Philo, the whole Judaism of the Dispersion (Diaspora), spoke in Greek, as did the New Testament, the *Χριστός*, the speech of Hellenism. The old Hellenic city culture, that of classic Greece, rested upon the oppression of Greek and barbarian freemen and slaves. That is, barbarians and slaves had no independent significance as members of the whole, just as the hand or foot of a statue. The world State of Alexander ended that in essence or potency, and took in barbarians or non-Greeks as regular elements of the State. When Alexander died, in 323 B.C., in his thirty-second year, and the thirteenth year of his reign, you could say that two ancient ideas were dead—the city State, and all men of non-Greek blood or culture barbarians. There was no one man like Alexander to take his place, but the passing of those ideas, taken for granted for a thousand years, depended, not on Alexander's person, but on his work. You may say what you will about the deviltry of war, and I shall agree with all you say, but if anything

¹ For the bones or substance of this article I have followed the admirable Section 5 in C. F. Arnold (Professor of Church History, University of Breslau), *Die Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1919.

ever worked for the good of mankind in the long run, for the reign of the Messiah on earth, it was the conquests of Alexander the Great. In place of the city State came what we call society. Man is no longer a political person, as Aristotle called him, but a community person, 'community' having, not its local meaning, as with us, but its etymological meaning. The world State is the fatherland of its inhabitants.

Certain things followed from this cosmopolitanism :

(a) A new feeling as to slavery. It was not abolished; for hard masters it was not mitigated, and both masters and mistresses were often ruthless. But there were many who felt it was incompatible with world citizenship and world brotherhood. The freeing of slaves became more frequent and less onerous. When Christ came, the designation freedmen was a common word to express a class whom everybody knew as neighbours and friends.

(b) World travel was another result. Communication was easy, and was as rapid as sailing-vessels, caravans, post-horses, &c., could make it. You cannot read Acts nor Paul's Epistles without feeling the stir of a moving world, without hearing the songs of the sailors and the 'All aboard' of the Greek captain. I speak of Christ's time and after. In the olden times, travel was dangerous. The only way you could travel safely was by attaching yourself, by friendship or payment, to some powerful chieftain, who went ahead with his armed guards, or making similar arrangements with commercial caravans. I do not mean by this that travel in the Roman Empire in Christ's time was safe. It was far from it, but it was as safe—or nearly so—as at any time up to, say, 1825. See the admirable book by Caroline A. J. Skeel, *Travel in the First Century after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 71-6); also Ramsay, 'Roads and Travel in the New Testament,' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra volume, Edinburgh, pp. 375-402.

(c) Noble sentiments in literature. Of course, there had

172 HOW HELLENISM PREPARED THE WAY

been these before the idea of universal citizenship had suggested that of universal friendship or love, and others more or less related. The sweet and beautiful spirit of Virgil, the bi-millenary of whose birth in 70 B.C. we celebrated in 1930, was not without these glimpses of ideas that we generally think of as Christian; how much more men who came later, like Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as you can readily see by reading Canon Farrar's *Seekers After God*, or Long's translation of their books.

C. F. Arnold tells us about an interesting man who was the embodiment of Hellenism—Poseidonios of Apamea, in Pisidia. He says he ruled the spiritual culture of his highly cultivated age (first century B.C.). He combined the scientific and artistic quality of the Greeks, the political schooling of the Romans, with the religiousness of the Orientals. Befriended by Cicero and Pompey, he had calculated the circumference of our earth, continued the history of Polybius, and deepened Stoicism by going back to Plato through the overcoming of intellectualism. He understood the Athenians, and distinguished between the character of old and new Rome; knew the social question of his time, and studied the Celtic and Iberian races; and all this out of his own personal knowledge. But even so accomplished a heathen had his dark side. He believed in astrology and mantic, was a fatalist, and practically identified the sensuous and the bad. Otherwise one could reckon him, with greater right than we could Philo, as a pathbreaker for the Church. When the great Church Father, Tertullian, calls Seneca 'ours often' (*De Anima*, 20), that is truer still of Poseidonios the Apamean. Traces of him are also in the Alexandrian Christian Fathers, as well as in the Gnostics.

(2) The pagan culture world or Hellenism prepared the way for Christianity by emphasizing the independence of the person. The inner soul of a man has its own worth. The Stoics spoke of *apatheia*, or indifference to suffering or feeling, insensibility; the Epicureans and Cynics of *ataraxia*,

or impassiveness, coolness, calmness ; but Christians found a higher than these in peace in and with Christ. The disciples of Epicurus (who died 270 B.C. in his seventy-second year) even went so far as to call him saviour, which would suggest to those Christians who knew about this the same much more appropriate title for Christ. And the Cynic philosophers, who went about preaching like the far later Christian begging monks, did not tell their hearers who were in trouble to go to Zeno, as Jesus told the heavy-laden to go to Himself, but to turn in upon themselves, find rest within. Pull yourself up into peace by your own boot-straps. In fact, says Arnold, the programme of the Church, Kingdom of God, worth of the soul, peace, and redemption, was prepared for by Hellenism. It was, but how much more distinct was this programme in Judaism.

(3) It did the same for the culture of the Church. The Christians were in a world of Greek culture—that is, not in a world where every one was cultured or even civilized, but in a world where in every community where the Church went in the first centuries there were educated people, some more, some less, surrounded, of course, both in the community and outside, by barbarism, acute or partially civilized. One of two things now must happen : either the Church will close in with that culture—that is, with its best elements—or reject it, and herself become more or less barbaric. She can isolate herself as Judaism did, and dried up into Talmudism, or she can appropriate the intellectual life and spirit of the times, so long as it is simply intellectual and not un-Christian and anti-Christian, and thus keep a mental positiveness and healthiness which will enable her not to be swamped by Mithraism and other heathen religions. She happily and providentially chose the second alternative. She did not crawl into a shell and die, but lost the narrow Jewish life of her first fifty years in the larger life of mankind. The priceless and eternal possessions she got from the Old Testament and Judaism she still kept and has to-day, but she has

174 HOW HELLENISM PREPARED THE WAY

universalized them by a glory from Him who is the source and author of *all* truth.

There were two principles which helped the Church to this hospitality towards civilization. The first was the doctrine of God as the Creator and Administrator of the world. Why should she not take what He has made and uses? In fact, the danger is that she will take it too indiscriminately, and thus get hold of evil with the good, and weaken and partially destroy the latter with the former. But she was incontestably authorized to take every innocent element of Greek and Roman civilization, and thus furnish herself for a world penetration and world conquest, as well as ward off the superstitions and noxious outgrowths of ignorance. God knows these superstitions came easy enough and thick enough.

The second principle which helped the intellectual hospitality of the ancient Church was that of forgiveness of enemies and love of man as man. This led to acknowledgement of the educational treasures of the heathen, of which one might rob them (so to speak) without making them the poorer. I think Arnold is rather far-fetched in finding fault with the Church, because in this appropriation she did not go back far enough to take the heliocentric system and the scientific methods that went along with that. But there was no heliocentric system. Christians necessarily took the culture that was around them. That culture was Ptolemaic, not heliocentric. It was only a rare scholar who knew that far back some lone Greek thinker had put forth the theory that the earth was round, and went around the sun. That the earth was a sphere, Thales, 640 B.C. believed, and Pythagoras, 500, that the earth goes around the sun. Aristarchus of Samos (*d.* 264 B.C.) followed Pythagoras so far as the motion of the earth around the sun is concerned. Two solitary believers in nearly a thousand years. Then Ptolemy (*d.* A.D. 150) came on and established the geocentric system, which ruled everybody till Copernicus, a contemporary of Luther.

Christians believed as all intelligent people did, except as their belief was checked or illuminated by their doctrine of God as Creator, &c.

But what I am driving at here is that the Church took a cordial attitude toward world culture, without swallowing world religions, though she assimilated here and there, especially after 300, too many pagan ideas and practices. The ἐγγύλος παιδεία (the circle of learning or rounded culture), the liberal arts, won citizens rights in the Church. None of the other religions at the time ventured to save Hellenic culture out of the whirlpools of a disappearing world. The Christian religion did that, and thus saved both civilization and herself.

(4) As to theology, Hellenism accustomed men to think, but as to what to think on God, man, salvation, &c., I do not find that Christianity in the first centuries got anything there. Her sources were Judaism, Old and New Testaments, and the teaching of the Spirit promised by our Lord. But Hellenism, say 100 B.C. to A.D. 300, had no patience with the old Greek polytheism, nor the local cults and worships which gathered round it, and were kept up until slowly and finally superseded by Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries. The time was passed when a Xenophon, who led his famous *Anabasis* 401 B.C., could consult a soothsayer or mantic, and was punished by Zeus Meilichios with lack of money because he had not offered to him, but to Zeus Basileus and to Zeus Soter (*Anab.*, vii. 8, 4). Where was true religious illumination to be found? The pagans gave neither preaching, instruction, nor priests' wisdom, though they did give priests official sacerdotal rites. Homer and Hesiod, says Herodotus, the Greek historian, gave the Greeks their theogony (= theology, ii. 53). Homer and Hesiod lived 1000-850 B.C., and Herodotus died perhaps 425 B.C., aged about fifty-five. But the philosophers explained away that theology—we call it mythology—by allegory, though this very thing meant that they now claimed to have some knowledge

of the gods, though not certain. They could not support themselves by the oracles, which had long since ceased. The celebrated Ptolemy, author, as I said, of the astronomical system which reigned till Copernicus, wrote about A.D. 140 that there is certainty only in mathematics, and that in physics and theology there are only hypotheses. People craved for a safe and sure 'theology'—that is, for a revelation. Since Plato's *Phaedo* (p. 78A) men were inclined to seek 'conjurers of uncertainty,' even among barbarians. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament (270–130 B.C.) shows on every page the confidence which animated Israel, and which was lacking to philosophers; Philo calls Moses the 'theologian.' Even in the lifetime of the scientist Ptolemy (d. A.D. 150), Christian 'theology' had begun. From now on, this word expresses that expert knowledge in divine things bound up with the intellectual conceptions of Hellenism—that is, as to words, but not in substance of thought. Of course, a mental stimulus came from Hellenism, but I believe that Christianity contains within itself the impetus to reflection, its own truths having in germ all the later development, though not, to be sure, the errors which came along in that development.

(5) But there was a dark side to Hellenism. Besides not keeping up with what had been won in knowledge of nature by far-looking spirits like Pythagoras and Aristarchus of Samos and Hipparchus, it did not achieve civil freedom nor religious; it superficialized the old Greek world of ideas; it allowed Oriental extravagance of thought, cult, and immoral worship to come in; it darkened the sense of truth by its devotion to artificial rhetoric, joylessly snatched up sensuous and sensual means of gratification, to which belonged wild beast fights and gladiatorial shows. The Stoics said, 'Live according to nature,' but few did, and the Cynic itinerant preachers did not and could not bring them back, even if they themselves were examples of the good life, and they were not. Some of these dark things the Church overcame.

As Tertullian says: 'Nothing is spoken, seen, or heard among us of the insanities of the circus, the immodesties of the theatre, or the atrocity of the arena' (*Apol.*, 38). No clergyman could be an astrologer (*Conc. Laod.*, 36). The Church forbade choosing of days, auguries, invocation of the dead, as the Old Testament did. In the place of Fate came the Father in Heaven. In the midst of a world of despotism, and of the wilfulness of officials, the Church became a sanctuary of freedom. Never before so clearly was the principle spoken out, 'Religio cogi non potest' ('Religion cannot be forced'). The principle of freedom of conscience of every man, proclaimed with genuine pathos by the apologists, went into the shade later; still in the Church this tendency remained. In 428, Bishop Coelestin I of Rome declared: 'Nullus invitis detur episcopus' ('No bishop should be given to the unwilling') (Migne, I. 434B). In 445, Bishop Leo I of the same see: 'Qui praefuturus est omnibus, ob omnibus eligatur' ('He who is preferred by all, let him be elected by all') (liv. 634A); as early as 245 a council in Carthage ordered: 'A priest should be chosen under the eyes of all, the people being present, and he should be approved as worthy and fit by public judgement and testimony' (iii. 1025A: *sacerdos* means bishop here). For endorsement of this, they referred to the Old Testament; but actually it was in accordance with Hellenic and old Roman principles. Deep biblical thoughts came in. 'Deum et omnium scire cupio,' said Augustine. 'Nihilne plus? Nihil omnino' ('I desire to know God and the soul. Nothing more? Nothing at all') (*Soliloquia*, i. 2; Migne, xxxii. 28, 52). That Stoics sometimes said something the same makes no difference. When Christians said it they meant it; they found God and the soul. To seal that discovery they laid down their lives. Hellenism put in the hands of the Christians the Ariadne thread by which they could find the way back out of the labyrinth of Oriental extravagance into Hellenic simplicity. And even though (the Hellenic

artificial) rhetoric injured much the artistic forms of the Cynic diatribe and homily which influenced preaching after the time of Paul—injured this preaching through the principle announced by Cicero in his *Brutus*, xi. 42, 'It is conceded to rhetoricians [teachers of oratory] to lie or forge or feign in histories' (or narratives or stories); though all this is true, yet rhetoric first formed the Greek and Latin languages to fine instruments for the newly arisen soul powers and sentiments engendered and released by Christianity. In other words, in spite of its faults and occasional bad influence, Hellenism's being received by the Church was necessary and blessed.

(6) It remains to speak of Hellenic heathenism in the Church, which she did not overcome. It conquered her in part; she did not conquer it. It superficialized her knowledge and it distorted her ethics, it made impure her cultus. The metaphysical conception of God, won by speculation, was smelted with the knowledge of God innerly experienced. The Platonic ὄντως ὄν (some kind of a being who really exists) is not the Father of Jesus Christ. The monotheism of a world-mover, taught by the magnificent speculative mysticism of the twelfth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, speaks loftily of deity (θεῖον) as something to be loved (ἐρώμενον), but how far stands that deity as compared with the nearness of Jehovah let Exod. xxxiv. 6 ('And Jehovah passed by before him and proclaimed, Jehovah, Jehovah, a God merciful, gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness and truth') and John iii. 16 witness. The polemic of the heathen Xenophanes representing intelligent, popular philosophy against the gods of wood and stone and full of anthropomorphisms was taken over by the Christian apologists, but the pantheistic ground-tone of Xenophanes they separated from the biblical polemic. Compare Isa. xlv. 15 and Ps. cxv. with Arist., *Met.*, i. 5: looking steadfastly upon the whole heaven he says that the one (or unity) is God (εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀπβλεψας τὸ εἶναι φήσι τὸν θεόν, p. 986E).

In Hellenism there lay the roots of a metaphysical God-conception which stretched through Scholasticism to its scholar Spinoza, and from him to the present. The Church took from Alexandrian Hellenism the iridescent or changing-colour conception of the law of nature (natural theology since Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, viii. 1), as though the knowledge of God lay upon the surface of knowing the world.

From one of the heathen Stoics, Krates from Pergamum, who lectured in Rome 165 B.C., sprang the allegoric method of interpretation, which made impossible the historic understanding of the Bible. About A.D. 218, Origen gave the first system of allegoric hermeneutics (*De Prin.*, iv. 2 ff.). Many opposed this method; but it became a power in the Western Church since Philo was canonized by Ambrose of Milan. The Church favoured the Stoics; Clement of Alexandria copied whole books of Musonius, though recent research frees him from the charge of plagiarism. Cicero did the same with Panaitios of Rhodes in his book *De Officiis*, and Ambrose worked over this again in his *De Officiis Clericorum*. He made seven virtues, adding to faith, hope, and love the four, cleverness, bravery, self-rule, and righteousness (justice), of Plato, and Peter Lombard (d. 1160) divided them into the seven sacraments.

Worse was the distortion of ethics. It arose from the amalgam of the virtue of faith with the two axioms coming from Hellenism, viz. that man is concerned with the nature of things, and that virtue is *ἐπιστήμη* (knowledge). Accordingly, whoever has false ideas of God and Christ is loose from God and Christ and bare of virtue, a child of evil. Through this intellectualism the moral energy of a whole epoch was directed to what they thought a true theory. This explains the measureless abhorrence of educated and pious Church Fathers to able co-workers who were distinguished from them only by a different conception, as, for instance, Appolinaris of Laodicea. This fanaticism was like a hothouse—unhealthy for the gardener, bad for the products

demanding by ecclesiastical housekeeping, and products exotic and strange to original Christianity (compare Isa. lix. 6). By the side of this intellectualism went with the Hellenists a technically schooled moralism. Through ascetic exercise wisdom is appropriated. There you have moralism and a double morality, one for the strenuous athlete for Christ and another for the ordinary Christian. The ascetics of primitive Christianity, so far as there were such (say the Encratites), used world renunciation in order to get God and the soul; with the Hellenist ascetics, piety and prayer are only for self-perfection. The union of the ideal with the Hellenist ascetic is a chief root of the Christian hermit life and of monasticism. Already, about A.D. 94, Dio of Prusa (in Bithynia, on or near the Sea of Marmora, near Nicaea), who had experienced a kind of conversion from orator to philosopher, made a celebrated address, *περὶ ἀναχωρήσεως*, against Cynic hermits or anchorites, who had withdrawn from tumults of the world. Some decades later, Nigrinus blamed ascetics who chastised themselves to death. On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria represented the original Christian ethics when he wrote about 200, in his *Paidagogos*, iii. 11, that neither books nor school wisdom nor leaving one's calling are necessary to the godly wise man—his only handbook is love. But two hundred years later there were many Christian moral athletes in Alexandria.

In Hellenism the people got little from the preaching of the philosophers. They cried for bread, and sought it in cultus. What the Hellenist world possessed in brotherly love, piety, and religious morality did not live in the public worship as carried on under State auspices, but in the private cults of the mysteries and the societies (or lodges or fraternities) of various kinds. Tertullian noticed the similarity of these with the early Christian assemblies (*Ap.*, 39). From these heathen societies came into the Church magical sacramental ideas and practices, as well as the *Arcani Disciplina* (the knowledge—in doctrine—of the secret)—that is, the

holding secret Church usages and formulas, in spite of Matt. x. 27 ('What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops'). And from these pagan unions came also in the Church theurgy, by means of which it was thought you could exercise magical force on God—and this in spite of Matt. vi. 7 (against vain repetitions, as pagans use, says Christ, to be heard for their much speaking). Faith in word magic and Alexander talismans, which are in Christian inscriptions, spread after the fourth century. What began in the time of the Antonines (that is, after 138), the discovery of the bones of heroes through dreams and fetching them in with solemn ceremony, repeated itself a hundredfold in the Church since the time of the sons of Constantine—that is, after 337. The heroes that you find in Homer, *ἡμίθεοι* (half-gods) in Hesiod, since Theognis (a noble of Magara, not far from Athens, about 550 B.C.), invoked as helpers in time of necessity, were received in chapels, the gods in temples. This worship of Holy Ones consecrates festival times and places, also rites and spheres of influence, and after 350 went over directly into Christian saint worship. The Christian writer Theodoret, of this new century, says that the heathen material is sanctified in the 'chapels of the martyrs,' as 'the Lord has granted to His own that [otherwise] vanished worship' (Migne, lxxxiii. 1033 B). The heathen Dio of Prusa about A.D. 105 defends the worship of pictures in similar style to the later Church Fathers. The body of man, says Dio, is the best symbol of the Divine Spirit. The same writer united the cult of heroes and of personalities of Hellenism, as in A.D. 100 he praised before the Emperor Trajan his (Trajan's) protector and patron, the divine hero Heracles, as the original pattern of the representation of God upon the earth, which representation was now realized in Trajan.

The last goal of ancient heathenism is the Kaiser-cult. If Providence had not intervened by the Church, it would have become the ruling religion of the Empire. Think of

worshipping as gods some of the worst scoundrels who ever disgraced a throne. But when paganism descended to this, borrowing from Hellenism on the part of Christianity came to an end. Whoever offered before a statue of the Kaiser, and said, 'κύριε καίσαρ' ('O Lord Kaiser'), ceased to be a Christian (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 15; Ruinart, *Mar.*, 69, 75). Tertullian says truly to the heathen: 'By a great fear . . . you honour Caesar as [you do] the Olympian Jove himself' (*Ap.*, 28). And when he goes on, 'And deservedly, if you knew it. For who among the living is not better than any dead one whatsoever?' he speaks in the sense of Hellenism. And there was a time in the history of Rome—say 146-46 B.C.—when people seemed to feel that. The religious festivals were forgotten, temples fell, the old gods vanished from memory, priesthood dissolved, and for seventy-five years there was no *flamen dialis* (*flamen*, a sacrificing priest; *dialis*—*dis*—consecrated to *the* god, i.e. Jupiter). As early as 307 B.C. some of the Greeks felt that their gods had forsaken them, as the Athenians received the subordinate god Demetrios Poliorketes with a paean: 'The other gods have gone, or don't exist, or hear us not. But thee we see eye to eye. Therefore we pray to thee: Give us peace, for thou art the Lord.' About the same time there came out the view we generally call euhemerism, viz. that Zeus and the other gods are only apotheosized kings and heroes. However, they are dead and absent. But the Kaiser, supreme king, who now rules, is here. He is the present god (*θεός επιφανής*). Some healthy common sense still existed in Rome and the West which revolted at the Kaiser-cult, but even this part had to give in, because the Empire was Orientalized. Therefore the fate of many a Christian depended upon his Yes or No to this new worship.

J. ALFRED FAULKNER.

RELICS OF BYGONE LONDON

EVERY day men are at work in various parts of London digging below the surface for the purpose of making tubes, erecting buildings, and so forth ; and every day those are at work for the various London museums, watching for remains of the long-past days when the Roman ruled here, who seek for the relics which help to reconstruct those bygone times and the life lived in the London of the Romans, and which help to make more complete our knowledge of the lives they and their successors lived. As an instance of this, the well may be mentioned which was sunk under the present site of the Bank of England and was designed with the object of catching the water from a spring long since drained away. This well terminated in a barrel sunk by a Roman cooper, and is now filled with the remains of Roman pots and other vessels evidently dropped when the women went to draw water. A remarkable thing about this barrel is that it bears the name ' F. Paccavi ' in clear Roman letters, the very same name having been discovered on a similar barrel found beneath the site of the General Post Office when the foundations for the new building were dug there some years ago ; both barrels being found at a depth of about twenty-five feet below the present surface of the ground. Who was Paccavi ? Was he a Roman cooper employed by the Government of the day as a well-sinker, or a wine-grower of Rome ? But if the latter, why did he write his name inside the barrels if he wished to advertise his wines ? Inside both barrels were found some Roman pots, probably those of the people trying to draw water. As many pots of Roman days had no handles and were merely lowered by means of thongs tied round the necks, it is easy to see how it came about that, the pots only too often becoming loosened on their way down or up again, the drawers of water were left without their pots.

The digging up of the old City ditch has produced some most interesting finds, from the first pins made, like little spikes with a piece of metal wrapped round the heads, to some pieces of beautiful Samian ware. Many of these fragments bear the names of the Roman potters, and one piece has lately been unearthed which bears the name of a potter from the south of France, none of whose work has hitherto been found in England. It is an interesting fact that though Samian ware was formerly thought to have originated in Samos, it was in reality produced in almost every country dominated by the Romans, from France to the banks of the Rhine, but none was ever made in England. Perhaps the Romans found no earth suitable for the purpose, for, though much pottery was made here by their potters, none of it had the beautiful Samian glaze nor was it of first-class workmanship. Therefore the Samian ware found in London bears the names of Africanus and other Roman rulers as well as those of the potters ; but all of them lived in other countries, down to the time when the disturbed state of Europe prevented the importation of any more ware from the potteries on the Continent and the Romans had to depend upon local potteries until the time when Rome fell before the Goths.

After the departure of the Romans, the gates they had made into London and kept clear for drainage purposes were much neglected by the Saxons, who cared little for rules of sanitation ; until at last the site now known as Moorfields became a menace to health, being occupied by a huge marsh which came right up to the old City walls between Cripplegate and Bishopsgate. Therefore, as time went on, the inhabitants took to throwing all their refuse into the marsh there, and it is when excavations are going on in Moorfields that many relics of the past come to light.

For instance, some flattened bones were lately unearthed with small holes bored at either end. These were the ancient form of skate, for even in the days of the first writer on

London—Fitzstephens, who lived in the days of Henry II—he speaks of people who ‘fixed bones to their feet’ and propelled themselves along by means of a stick provided with a sharpened bone at the tip, much like an alpenstock, since the flat bones would not cut ice. These rude skates lasted almost down to the time of Pepys, when metal ones began to be made, metal being affixed to them in order to cut ice. Lately, too, the spike used for the staff has been found, and one wonders at so clumsy a contrivance lasting so long, since the labour of pushing oneself along at almost every step would make skating a tedious process.

Numbers of ancient shoes—or rather pieces of them—of many periods have been found in various parts of London, but many of these were found when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were erecting their premises in Moorfields some years ago. The fact is that the nuisance of having this rubbish-heap coming up to the city walls became so bad that at last a determined effort was made to fill it in. This was therefore done, but, since no overflow was provided, matters were worse than ever for nearly a hundred years more, until at last, in the reign of Henry V, the latest London gate—Moorgate—was built and the marsh drained away. Therefore it is possible to date the objects found in Moorfields as having been thrown there during the century preceding the filling up of the marsh, for there is a distinct layer between this and the first futile attempt. Some of the shoes vary from the earlier shape, with long pointed tips, down to those with extremely narrow soles; while from the old City ditch come some curious blob-nosed shoes of the time of Henry VIII, extremely ugly in form.

From a site near Blackfriars come several interesting relics: one or two of the first pipes made in England—to hold the precious tobacco; but no larger than a cigarette-holder of to-day, for tobacco was so valuable in those days that no more than a thimble-full at most could be afforded by even a rich smoker; therefore the first pipes contained

what we should now consider merely a whiff, and not till long afterwards were larger pipes made ; while at a higher level near the same site a boar's tusk was picked up—reminiscent of the days when a boar's head formed a necessary part of civic feasts. An interesting find is a piece of what must have been the earliest type of glass made in this country, for though glass was known here since the days of Henry II, it was imported from Venice for centuries and it is comparatively recently that it was made in England. This first bottle is a clumsy green object standing quite crookedly, and the slightest touch would probably upset it. Still, it marks progress, since it shows that we had at last begun to make glass for ourselves.

But far earlier than any of these was a beautiful black stone axe precisely like those used at this moment in New Guinea. This axe has been highly polished and is of a stone not found in the London basin, therefore it is probably either a portion of a boulder brought here during the Glacial epoch or a piece of meteoric ironstone ; certain it is that a New Guinea axe brought from that country a year or two ago is of the same stone and is worked up in exactly the same way as the one made by the London man four thousand years ago, when stone tools began to give way to iron ones. Another reminder of those ancient days is a huge bone believed to belong to a woolly rhinoceros in the times when that monster roamed through the tropical swamps of what is now London.

Now and then a tool or other object is dug up which connects our present life strangely with that of the far past. Not long ago a hammer of the Roman period came to light, with the three lines upon it so characteristic of Roman workmanship. This was an upholsterer's hammer, exactly like those used to-day in that trade ; but it happens sometimes that a tool is found for which no use is now known. An instance of this is a curious object made of metal with one twist like that of a huge corkscrew and fitted into a

wooden haft ; yet no one knows at present to what use it was put. Another article is a flat slab of wood with various holes bored through it, of which several have been found and always associated with the working of tin or near a tin-mine ; therefore it has been conjectured that it formed part of some implement used in the working of tin or bronze ; while another most curious object found is the bone fork or rake made of the horns of deer which at that period roamed over Britain in great herds. These could not have been very effective tools, one would think, with their two awkward prongs.

A short time ago a spear-head was dug up in the old City ditch close to a part of the ancient wall. This proved to be a Viking spear-head, of which not many have been found, since the coming of the Vikings was a very short episode in our story. This must have been one of the weapons used during the great attack upon London during the reign of Ethelred the Unready, when Olaf of Norway and Swayne the Dane combined against the English. So severe was their defeat that the fleets—or what was left of them—sailed down the Thames that same night, having been allowed to depart upon the condition that they would never return. Olaf seems to have been a man of honour and kept his word, thereby perhaps meriting the saintship afterwards bestowed upon him, a memory which is preserved in the number of churches named after him ; but Swayne returned ten years later, and eventually obtained the crown for his son Canute ; while a reminiscence of the latter is found in the name of the ' ham ' or village which he bestowed upon his favourite thane, Clappa, where some most interesting objects have been found during late years.

Not far from Clapham some beautiful ancient stone hammers have been dug up, with holes bored so smoothly to receive a haft that no auger of the present day could have made them more perfect, though in almost every case the wood has long since decayed away ; but one of them

still retains a little piece of its former haft. Then, too, the suburbs of London have yielded some fine examples of stone coffins and earlier Roman burial-urns, for the Romans, of course, burned their dead, until the new religion of Christianity gradually brought in the custom of burying the dead, which had been an old practice in this country before the coming of the Romans. Some very fine examples of Roman stone tombs have been found also, still bearing the Roman inscriptions clearly legible.

Even during the Roman period in this country we can trace the changing of several of their customs. For instance, a very early amphora was lately found upon the site of the new Post Office, of a form which had been going out of fashion even in Rome before the date of their coming over here. This specimen dates from the first century and is a clumsy object of whitish earthenware with a large neck, which must have been difficult to seal down properly; indeed, a little later on no such object would have been used; such an article is rarely found in England, and never in the north, for by the time the Romans had conquered the whole of the country the newer amphora was always used.

A curious link is sometimes discovered in objects found in widely separated places. There is, for instance, a piece of Samian ware in the York museum which bears the same name of the maker as a portion of the same kind of ware found in the London City ditch; this name is that of a potter who lived at Puy-de-Dôme in France and sent out his ware from there, for, as before mentioned, no such fine work was ever made here. But it must remain a puzzle why a nation which made such beautiful pottery never went further and made china.

One article lately brought to the surface was a Roman saucepan with the handle made to receive a wooden shaft, but the latter has, of course, disappeared. Indeed, such handles must have been burnt away very quickly, though in this case the bottom of the saucepan is burnt through also;

evidently the Roman cook—like some modern ones—left the saucepan to ‘burn dry,’ this being another link with the household life of to-day.

But more interesting still is the bone of the earliest known ancestor of a horse, an animal represented by the tiny eohippus, which was no larger than a hare ; no bone belonging to the horse family has yet been found of an earlier type than this one. Therefore the Dawn horses must have roamed through the swamp forests on the site now occupied by the huge modern city, for these were forest animals with five-toed feet, made for gripping more firmly the mud of their natural haunts in those far-off days.

Trackway and Camp and City lost,
Salt marsh where now is corn ;
Old Wars, Old Peace, Old Arts that cease,
And so was England born.

W. LAVALLIN PUXLEY.

The Winter's Tale, edited by Q. and Dover Wilson (Cambridge University Press, 6s.), completes the comedies in the New Shakespeare Series. The frontispiece is a reproduction of Van Somer's portrait of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I, who died in 1612. Sir Quiller-Couch says in his Introduction that Paulina cannot be praised too highly and Hermione has ‘received the consideration of many critics. Of her we note only as we may note of Imogen and Katherine, that in these later plays Shakespeare habitually equals and sometimes excels himself when he speaks poetry through the lips of a wronged woman. It has been a favourite part with many great actresses. The sheep-shearing scene ‘transcends and defies criticism.’ Those who detect evidence of ‘failing powers’ in the later plays have a great deal to say for themselves, and say it with particular effect about *The Winter's Tale*. It leaves no total memory, but is remembered by single verses, or by the full-charactered Paulina, fit companion for any woman, or man either, in the Shakespeare gallery for her audacious courage and cunning as Pardita stands out in a simple, almost divine dignity. The Introduction adds materially to the interest with which one reads the comedy. The account of the copy for the play, the valuable notes, and Harold Child's stage-history of the play make this an edition much to be coveted by lovers and students of Shakespeare.

CYPRIANISM AND REUNION¹

IN the history of religions,' says Harnack, 'every really important reformation is always, first and foremost, a *critical* reduction to principles; for in the course of its historical development, religion, by adapting itself to circumstances, attracts to itself much alien matter, and produces, in conjunction with this, a number of hybrid and apocryphal elements, which it is necessarily compelled to place under the protection of what is sacred. If it is not to run wild from exuberance, or be choked by its own dry leaves, the reformer must come who purifies it and brings it back to itself.'

This task is particularly necessary when we consider the ministry of the Church. For here, if anywhere, and here perhaps more than anywhere, the corruptive tendency to which Harnack refers has been at work. Indeed, so much alien matter has been attracted, and such a number of hybrid and apocryphal elements have been produced, that the task of 'bringing Christianity back to itself' as far as the Church's ministry is concerned, may well seem hopeless. But there is one great consideration which not only mitigates the apparent hopelessness of the endeavour, but renders it one of the most fruitful lines of investigation to which Christian thought can address itself.

That consideration is the fact that the fundamental principle from which a ministerial order was developed, and on which it depends, is emphatically stated in the apostolic writings, and easily discernible in the apostolic practice. If there is one great truth that is crystal clear in the New Testament, it is the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.

¹ Part of the Paton Prize Essay for 1929.

² *What is Christianity?* p. 274.

The ideal of the Christian society is that the whole Church is a sacerdotal fellowship; all its services sacrifices and every member a priest; and the New Testament is uncompromisingly loyal to it. When rulers and teachers after a time appeared, 'the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people are never regarded as transferred or even delegated to these officers.'¹ They are priests in no other sense than the rest of the Christian brotherhood.

Later on—in the third century, under the influence of Cyprian—a mutilated sacerdotalism made its appearance, one part of Christian worship alone being thought of as the true sacrifice, and one portion only of the fellowship being declared to be the priesthood. So arose 'sacerdotalism' in the indefensible sense of the word—'the belief that the priest has spiritual powers which other believers do not possess.'² There is nothing of this in the New Testament. It is foreign to the whole genius of Christianity. It is of the very *esse* of the gospel that no intermediaries are needed between God and man. The Roman Catholic claim that the authority of the Church was placed directly in the hands of office bearers, not in those of the whole membership—on which the whole 'catholic' system depends—cannot be sustained by anything in the teaching of Christ, nor by anything in the practice of the Apostolic Church.

The evolution of the Christian ministry cannot be traced in detail in the New Testament—the amount of evidence at our disposal is too scanty for that—but the broad lines on which it developed are fairly plain, and may be briefly indicated.

In the early days of the Church, the chief personages were the apostles and the prophets. While some of these appear to have been localized, their main function was undoubtedly itinerant. But another type of ministry is

¹ Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, p. 6.

² Barnes, *Should Such a Faith Offend?* p. 204.

plainly recognized, though given a subordinate position; certain officials referred to in one place as 'teachers, helps, governments,'¹ and in another as 'pastors and teachers.'² In these, we see the beginnings of a local or resident ministry, as contrasted with the itinerant activities of the more prominent functionaries.

As time went on, the relative importance of these two types of ministry was reversed. The apostles who had accompanied with the Lord, one by one disappeared in the natural course of things; the prophetic function became discredited, and fell into abeyance, through the appearance of impostors and the abuses of charlatanism; and so the local ministry gradually but surely emerged into the first place. Towards the close of the apostolic age, in addition to the surviving apostles and the prophets, we find two other orders in the Church, the bishops (= presbyters or overseers), and the deacons, and the tendency is for these local officials, once subordinate to the others, to occupy the premier position.

At a later stage, the twofold became a threefold order by the emergence of the monarchical episcopos. In the letters of Ignatius (*circ.* A.D. 115) bishops, presbyters and deacons are specified as three distinct orders—that is to say, the mono-episcopos has evolved from the presbyterate. But we must be careful not to read into the position of the 'bishop,' as he existed in the second century, any later notions. All three orders of the ministry existed within the limits of a single church, of which the bishop was pastor. Dr. Lindsay quotes the *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* as informing us that 'every small Christian community, even when consisting of fewer than twelve families, is to have its bishop, its elders, and its deacons.'³

But once the mono-episcopos had evolved, various forces

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28.

² Eph. iv. 11.

³ *Church and Ministry in Early Centuries*, p. 198.

tended to the aggrandizement of his position, until we arrive, in the third century, at Cyprian's theory of the monarchical episcopate, with its concomitants, the dogma of apostolical succession and its attendant sacerdotalism. By the end of the third century Cyprian's theory dominated the Church, has persisted through the centuries, and remains to-day as the accepted belief of the largest Church of Christendom, and of considerable sections of the Christian community outside the Roman obedience.

It is no valid objection to the threefold ministry as it meets us in the third century that it is so markedly different from anything we find in the New Testament. Any sound theory of Church life must allow large room for the principle of development. To make 'a touchstone of the earliest form of Christianity,' in the words of Eucken, and 'to confine all movement within these early limits,' is far too narrow a criterion. No Church has any strong hold on life if it only deems itself in a healthy condition while it continues to be what it was originally.

If, then, it could be shown that the Cyprianic system was a legitimate development of the ministry of the apostolic age, all criticism would be at an end. But this is just what cannot be shown. If anything is certain, it is that some of the changes introduced into the ministry during the intervening period were alien accretions, and not natural growths. It may well be that episcopacy, as a form of administration, was a sound and right development—a normal evolution from New Testament principles. But the same cannot be said of the sacerdotalism and autocracy which became associated with it. These were importations from the outside, and were subversive of the essential idea of the Christian brotherhood. It is here that the issue must be joined with Cyprianism. 'The condemnation of episcopacy as expounded by Cyprian and his successors

¹ *Problem of Human Life*, p. 132.

is not that it was a new form of government for which there was no precedent, but that it introduced elements incompatible with the true character of Christian fellowship, that its autocratic and hierarchial pretensions were entirely alien to the type of corporate life presented by Christ and His apostles.¹

For one thing, Cyprian's theory of the ministry is incompatible with the fact that, in the New Testament, the whole Church, and not any one section of it, is the governing body. 'Nothing, perhaps,' says Dr. Hort, 'has been more prominent in our examination of the *Ecclesiae* of the apostolic age than the fact that the *Ecclesia* itself, i.e. apparently the sum of all its adult male members, is the primary body, and, it would seem, even the primary authority.'² It may be, as Dr. Hort goes on to suggest, that this state of things was, in some ways, a mark of immaturity. It can easily be seen that what might be a workable procedure when Christians were few in number, and churches small, might be impracticable in later days when Christianity had greatly grown. But, even so, this does not affect the essential point. 'The very origin and fundamental nature of the *Ecclesia* as a community of disciples renders it impossible that the principle should rightly become obsolete.'³ It did become obsolete in Cyprian's theory of the monarchical bishop and his autocratic powers; and here is the first charge on which that theory must be arraigned and condemned. The alien ideas of autocracy and hierarchical headship, imported from the Roman State cultus, from the Mystery Religions, and from other sources, are altogether irreconcilable with the communal autonomy of the New Testament Church, the self-governing rights of the brotherhood as a whole.

But the great New Testament principle with which

¹ Forrest, *The Authority of Christ*, p. 425.

² *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 229.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Cyprianism cannot be harmonized is that of the priesthood of all believers. The Carthaginian ecclesiastic's notion of a sacerdotal caste—a sacrificing, mediating priesthood—undoubtedly has a powerful attraction for many minds, and has played no small part in the history of mankind. It was widely current in Judaism, as well as in paganism, and its fascination may be judged from the fact that it took root in a soil so uncongenial for its growth as Christianity. But while a considerable part of Judaism was founded on a belief in the necessity of a sacerdotal class, even in Judaism the priest was not the sole representative of God. Much of the history of the religious development of Israel is a record of the conflict between the discordant ideals of the priests and their rivals the prophets, who taught, as against the insistence on material sacrifice and ceremonial worship and the necessity of intermediaries between God and man—characteristic of all priesthoods—that the only sacrifice acceptable to the Almighty was the oblation of a man's own personality, that worship must be ethical, and that each individual has the right of direct access to God.

If, then, we find in Judaism the germ of the poison of sacerdotalism which afterwards infected Christianity, we also find, in the passionate protests and splendid affirmations of the prophets, the germ of the antidote which, in the gospel, was made a universal medicine for the souls of men. The whole sacerdotal system falls before a single word of Christ: 'I will arise and go to my Father.' 'Sonship and priesthood,' says Dr. Denney, 'are two figures under which we can represent the characteristic relation of man to God, his characteristic standing toward God, in the new religion instituted by Christ. Formally distinguishable, they are really and experimentally the same.'¹ The sonship which is priesthood and the priesthood which is sonship is as vital to Christianity as it is irreconcilable with Cyprianism,

¹ Hastings's *D.B.*, Vol. IV., p. 100.

and here is the great condemnation of the theory of the ministry which emerged in the third century.

St. Paul, the first to formulate Christian theology in its main lines, was well acquainted, not only with sacerdotal Judaism, but with many another sacerdotal system, for the civilization of the Graeco-Roman world was honey-combed with priesthoods. Moreover, he was a man of broad and generous mind, anything but a bigot—a man who (we should have said from our knowledge of his characteristic outlook), would be inclined even to syncretism, a pooling of pagan traditions, in his eager endeavour to become all things to all men that by all means he might save some. ‘Receptiveness to new ideas,’ as Dean Inge says, ‘is one of the most remarkable features of St. Paul’s mind.’¹ All the more impressive, then, is the fact that there is no hint in his writings that the Christian ministry was to be a sacerdotal caste. With all his abounding hospitality to new ideas he had no room for *that* idea. He saw that the notion of a priesthood intervening between God and man is completely foreign to the Christian revelation and to the mind of Christ, and can never be harmonized with either.

So it is throughout the New Testament. And it is a matter not only of underlying and overruling spirit, but even of words and phrases, so careful are the various writers to guard the vital truth. ‘While λειτουργεῖν is the word for ministration in the LXX, the word in the New Testament is διακονεῖν. The exception in the Old Testament is the rule in the New Testament. And this is a suggestive fact. The New Testament ministry is not one of the priest as distinct from the people: the exclusive class becomes a universal priesthood.’² Many names are applied to the Christian minister in the New Testament—apostle, prophet,

¹ *Outspoken Essays*, First Series, p. 225.

² Massie, Hastings’s *D.B.*, Vol. III., p. 377.

teacher, evangelist, elder, overseer, deacon, shepherd, leader, ruler—but he is never, as an officer of the Church, called a priest. Amid all this wealth of descriptive titles, designed to bring out every aspect of the minister's function, one word is carefully omitted and deliberately rejected. And it was the word most commonly used in that day, both in Judaism and in pagan cults, to describe a minister of religion. The significance of this is inescapable.

The argument from silence is sometimes precarious, but it cannot be misleading here. The fundamental truth which Christ proclaimed is that God does not reveal Himself through a special order of men, but directly to the individual soul. The New Testament writers do not hesitate to speak about a Christian priesthood—indeed, they are full of it—but it is the priesthood of all believers, and not that of one class alone. And the great condemnation of monarchical episcopacy, as understood and enforced by Cyprian and his successors, is that a caste priesthood can never be reconciled with a universal one. The word 'apostacy' is not to be lightly used; but Dr. Denney is justified in declaring that to introduce *official* mediators into the religion of Jesus 'is to apostatize from Christianity.'

The present disunited condition of the Churches is commonly recognized as one of the main sources of the weakness of the Christian witness in our day. And the question of Church unity is largely a question of the ministry. 'The more we think of the unity of the Church,' it has been truly said, 'the more we must make of the significance of the ministry.' But from what standpoint and along what lines must the 'significance' of the ministry be stressed? What is an effective ministry, a ministry practically valid? The whole question of Reunion, so earnestly discussed to-day, hinges on this inquiry.

The non-episcopal Churches are accustomed to reflections

¹ Loc. cit.

² Forsyth, *Church and Sacraments*, p. 124.

on their ministry as invalid, or at least as irregular. All that need be said by way of answer is that Christianity itself began in an irregular ministry, and that the whole New Testament idea is that a ministry is valid according as it is spiritually effective.¹ That is the answer to all exclusive claims. For if there is one incontestable fact of experience, it is that 'the living Spirit of Christ is plainly no respecter of persons or of denominations.'²

Probably the greatest hindrance to Reunion is the idea that there is some particular form of Church Order which alone can be traced back to the New Testament, and that any effective catholicity must show itself in an outward uniformity harmonizing with the supposed primitive model. There is a double fallacy in this position. In the first place, there is no one apostolic type of Church Order; and, secondly, there is no primitive warrant for insisting that catholicity must find visible expression in a uniformity of organization.

Canon Streeter's recent book *The Primitive Church* is a powerful enforcement of this twofold position. He shows that there is a far greater diversity in Primitive Christianity than is commonly recognized; that in the New Testament itself there can be traced an evolution in Church Order; and that, at the end of the first century, there existed, in different provinces of the Roman Empire, different systems of Church government. 'Among these, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Independent can each discover the prototype of the system to which he himself adheres.'³

The importance of this conclusion in relation to the

¹ Cf. Dr. Platt in an article in this REVIEW for October 1930 (p. 182): 'Is the *essential* qualification for a true ministry of Christ in our own day to be regarded as spiritual or historical? Is the historic past or the living present the ultimate sphere in which the true authority of "orders" is to be sought and established?'

² Inge, *The Church and the Age*, p. xi.

³ p. ix.

present discussions on Reunion is obvious. For if it can be accepted, by all parties to the inquiry, that no one form of constitution is sacrosanct, as being exclusively apostolic, the prospect of a new unity of the Churches, leading it may be to future corporate union, is at once opened up. The abandonment of the traditional view that it was the will of Christ that the government of the Church should be this or that particular form, and that any other system would amount to an act of disobedience to divine command, and the placing outside the promised blessing of the persons under its charge, would at once clear the way for a new approach to the question.

The Archbishop of York, in a recent address, after declaring that 'as between the Anglican Church and those bodies with which there was any immediate prospect of union, the main question was one of order,' proceeded to say that 'they must aim at unity on the basis of real structure and not merely on the basis of the good will which at this moment happened to be predominant.' 'It was there,' he continued, 'that the question of the episcopal order came in. Quite apart from any theory which they might hold about the episcopate, there stood out the fact that the episcopate had been more successful in averting disunion than any other principle of unity in the Church.'¹

Let it be granted that Dr. Temple is justified in this claim—though it would not be difficult to point out facts telling in the opposite direction. But the crux of the matter is in the archbishop's sentence which speaks of the episcopate 'quite apart from any theory.' That is a frequent note in present-day discussions concerning Reunion. We are invited to accept episcopacy, as distinct from any theory of it, as a basis of union. For example, the Bishop of Madras, in an article on the proposals for Church Union in South India, says that all parties to the negotiations are 'willing to

¹ *The Times*, October 24, 1929.

accept the historic and constitutional episcopacy' for the sake of union, but that 'this is to pledge no one to any particular theory of the nature of the episcopate.'¹ But how is it possible to accept episcopacy without a theory as to its nature? Immediately the suggestion is made that episcopacy should be the basis of union, the question arises, What do you mean by episcopacy? The episcopacy of the New Testament is a very different thing from that of Ignatius, and both from that of Cyprian and that of to-day. If episcopacy-without-theory is accepted as a basis of union by two or more parties who interpret it differently, it is sure to prove, sooner or later, a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.

Bishop Creighton once humorously remarked that 'if the writer of the Book of Proverbs were writing in the present day, he would put among the unsearchable things 'the clerical mind.' And surely it is the masterpiece of the clerical mind to imagine that a group of individuals or societies can hold together for long on the basis of episcopacy sans theory, when all the while their theories of the episcopate are radically different. It is playing with the situation to ignore the truth that the terms 'bishop' and 'episcopacy' have behind them and within them a history, and therefore a meaning, a theory. And the trouble is that that meaning, that theory, has been, and is, so largely associated with mechanical and magical views. The danger is that once the episcopate is accepted 'quite apart from any theory of it' as a basis for union, the effects of its sacerdotal interpretation may be seen in quarters which are at present immune.

But if the terms of reference are plainly defined, and if the episcopacy that is proposed could be cleared of all sacerdotal complicity and of all autocratic pretension, then it may well be that such a reformed episcopacy could be

¹ *Hibbert Journal*, October 1929, p. 156.

² *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, Vol. II., p. 506.

made the basis of a Reunion which would change the face of Christendom. There seems much to be said for the contention of those who urge that a representative episcopate, elected by the suffrage of the whole church, laity as well as clergy, is the most apparent path to a united Church of Christ.

But this means that we must claim for the Church of our own day the right to develop her forms of administration according to contemporary conditions and needs. In former days men's thoughts about the Church and its institutions have been conditioned by archaeology. They scrutinized the past to trace apostolic succession, as guaranteeing by sheer continuity the authentic life of the Spirit in the Church. But nowadays teleology controls our thinking.¹ We look to the end which anything subserves—to its future rather than to its past—when we seek to understand it and to determine our attitude towards it. 'The question,' as Sir John Seeley says, 'is not what means the Church employed in other times, for other times had other problems, not what was done by Paul or Gregory or Luther, but what men who, like Paul and Gregory and Luther, knew what they were about, would be likely to do now.'² We must fix our eyes on the object and purpose of the Christian ministry, and by grasping afresh its teleological significance, by thinking less of its title deeds than of its *raison d'être*, mould it afresh, by a free and inventive adaptation of means to ends, to meet the changing circumstances of our own day.

This claim of the right of development for the Church of to-day, the right of adapting its shape to the course of events, is in the truest sense going back to the apostolic age. The early Church took form by the logic of facts. Its whole organization was evolved to meet varying necessities as they arose. 'The first Christians achieved

¹ Cf. Joad, *Present and Future of Religion*, pp. 133, 185.

² *Natural Religion*, p. 260.

what they did because the spirit with which they were inspired was one favourable to experiment.¹ The recapture of this spirit is the line of advance for the Church of to-day. The real cleavage, it has been well said, 'is between those who . . . stand for the binding force of a system, an authority, a formula, based explicitly on the past, and those who think of the Church as an ever-growing Divine Adventure, of its successive movements as part of what St. Paul calls "the increasing of God."'² The latter is the attitude of apostolic Christianity, and the attitude called for to-day.

And this is to go back, not merely to the early Church, but to the mind of Christ, the *fons et origo* of Christianity and the expression of its essential attitude as a system of thought and life. 'In seeking to recover that mind to-day,' as Dr. Glover writes, 'we commit ourselves to the belief that it is sufficient, and that, when we have rid ourselves of all that in the course of the ages has obscured the great personality, in proportion as we regain His point of view, we shall find once more (in the words of a far distant age), that His spirit will guide us into all truth.'³

A. GARFIELD CURNOW.

¹ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

² Col. ii. 19 : τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ θεοῦ.

³ *Liberal Evangelicism*, p. 72.

⁴ *Conflict of Religions in Roman Empire*, p. 195.

ODO OF CLUNY

IN the year 942 two Cistercian monks, alike in dress but very different in age, left the monastery of St. Peter, situated on the banks of the Tessin, to make their way on foot to the Eternal City. The elder of these travelling monks was the celebrated Odo, second Abbot of Cluny. Having been detained for some time in Lombardy by Hugh, King of Provence and Italy, he now hastened to Rome, where the business of his order made his return imperative. The name of the younger monk was John. Born in the city of Rome, and destined by the vows of his parents and by his own tastes for the Church, he was already a secular canon in the sacred city when the Abbot of Cluny influenced him, by his counsel and example, to leave the world. With devoted affection the disciple followed his master, and in his steps came presently into Lombardy, where the monks of St. Peter received him into their congregation.

From the Tessin to the Tiber the road is long. To shorten it, the younger monk ventured to put questions to the elder about the Scriptures, to which Odo, with the authority of his age, learning, and position, gave answers. As they walked thus, talking and praying together, their intercourse became more intimate, and John's questions more familiar. At last, forgetting, as he confesses to us, the rules of the discipline, John dared indiscreetly to question his venerable companion as to his country, his family, and his early life. Odo, as was his habit, meditated at first in silence, while John eagerly awaited his reply ; then he blushed and sighed. He could not speak of what had been asked of him without doing violence to his genuine modesty and humility. Nevertheless, since it was John, his friend and pupil, who questioned him, he unfolded to him, bit by bit, the story of his life, which John afterwards wrote down.¹

¹ ' Vita Odonis a Joanne monacho scripta ' : *Biblioth. Cluniae*.

From John we learn that Odo was born in the year 879 near Le Mans, in Maine, of the race of the Franks. His father was called Abbo, and he was in great favour with William the Strong, who became Duke of Aquitaine in the year 886, in succession to Carloman ; and his mother's name was Arenberga. His father's seigneurial manor was on the frontiers of Touraine, in a region of forests and rivers, where the delights of hunting and fishing could be abundantly enjoyed ; but he had a love of ancient learning, and knew by heart the *Novellae* of Justinian. He was a pious son of the Church, familiar with the gospel, and always ready to recite its precepts and to mediate in quarrels arising among his relations and friends, by whom he was greatly beloved.

One day, when Odo was still very young, his father entered his little room in the absence of the nurse, and, taking up the child in his arms, dedicated him in prayer to St. Martin of Tours. Some years after this, a priest in a remote part of Aquitaine took the child, by his father's orders, to instruct him in letters ; but, before he reached the age of adolescence, returned him to his parents, alleging that he had had a visit from the Apostles Peter and Paul, who had demanded that the boy should be given up to them for service in the East. On the terrified priest begging them to relinquish their demand, they had agreed to do so, but only, as they explained, for a season.

Odo had developed such strength and vigour that his father, repenting himself of having educated him for an ecclesiastical career, and desiring now to break him away from the Church and to impel him towards the profession of arms, placed him in the castle of Duke William and put him to his service, in which he learned the business of a hunter and fowler. But he was unhappy, and haunted by terrifying dreams, and the pleasures of the chase soon became wearisome to him.

In his sixteenth year, when celebrating the vigil of Christmas, he prayed in church to the Mother of our Lord : ' I

greatly fear that my life displeases thy Son ; but since it was by thee He was manifested to the world, so, I beseech thee, may He, by thy intercession, very soon take pity on me.' As he finished his prayer the day broke, and the choir of monks appeared and began to celebrate in song the Feast of the Nativity. At once Odo sprang with an impetuous bound into their midst, and presumptuously joined with them in praising the King of the World. Soon he was attacked with a violent headache, and, if he had not put out his arm towards the chancel arch and grasped a pillar, he would have fallen down in a fainting fit. For three years he was a prey to these terrible headaches, and then he was sent home, where for two years his parents employed every kind of remedy in vain to cure him. At the end of that time his father bethought himself that his son's suffering might be a sign from heaven ; and, sad and lamenting, he told Odo of the unfulfilled vow he had made. The lad thereupon undertook to carry out his father's engagement ; and as soon as his head was shaved, and his shorn hair laid before the tomb of St. Martin, his malady left him.

When, in the year 900, he arrived at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, that house had for its abbot Robert, Duke of France, and for its bishop Adalhard, brother of Herberic, Archbishop of Tours. But the abbot, who was made King of the Franks in 922, and who was already working to become such, did not reside with his canons ; neither did the canons see their bishop very often. Dean Bellac governed the abbey and Odalric presided over the cloistral school. The canons gave Odo an honourable reception, because of his birth and family, and also because he came to them under the patronage of Fulques le Roux, Count of Anjou, in whose house he had passed some years of his infancy, and who presented to him a canonical cell, the revenues of which were sufficient to defray the expenses of his maintenance.

With such patronage he might have continued the easy life he had led at the Court of Duke William. The canons were

rich and had abundant leisure, but their ways soon palled on him ; he despised their pomp and vanity, longing to live only to the glory of God. He took up again the interrupted course of his grammatical studies, and turned to Virgil ; but a dream of a vase of which the outside was decorated with splendid ornaments, while the inside was alive with frightful reptiles, which he interpreted as a warning against yielding to the charms of classic poetry, turned him from the poets to the commentators on the Prophets. His zeal seemed so unnatural to his masters, the canons, that they forbade him to study those ' complicated Scriptures.' ' Leave that unintelligible stuff,' they said, ' and get back to the Psalms.' He obeyed, but the longing to know and learn was insatiable, and he soon demanded to be allowed to go to Paris, where he would have more freedom ; and, when leave was refused, he escaped, leaving the monastery by night, and travelling on foot to the goal of his desire.

In Paris he became a pupil of Remi of Auxerre, who had there opened a public school ; and from him he acquired a complete knowledge of logic and philosophy, and under his enlightenment found that he had been seized with vain terror when he had taken Virgil for a vase of serpents. But Paris was a noisy town, and could not sufficiently afford him solitude for meditation. So presently he returned to Tours, where now he found even the cloisters of St. Martin too much frequented. Accordingly he divided among the poor his goods and chattels, retaining only his books, and retired to a narrow cell about two miles from the abbey, where for two years he lived a life of evangelical poverty, his bed being a mat of rushes, on which he lay down to sleep in his clothes, and his daily food-ration being half a loaf of bread and a handful of beans, with water to drink instead of wine.

After a time, however, the canons of St. Martin begged him to return to the abbey and compose for their use an abridgement of the *Moralia* of St. Gregory. He refused at first, but during one of his nightly visits to the tomb of St. Martin he

was visited in a dream by St. Gregory himself, who commanded him to fulfil the wish of the canons. The canons also required a precentor for their church, and, knowing that Odo had learned music at Paris, they prevailed on him to accept the office. He could not fulfil this duty without becoming a canon, and he was therefore admitted to the brotherhood. He composed twelve anthems in honour of St. Martin, and numerous hymns, but his heart was not in his work. Having read the rule of St. Benedict, his sole desire was to obey its precepts ; but that was impossible at Tours. 'It was to me,' he told John, 'the abomination of desolation that the canons had given up established monastic customs, and would wear no longer the habit of their order, but paraded in coloured garments, wore flowing cowls and tunics, and even covered those with a cloak. Worse still, to be in the height of fashion, they wore shoes so coloured and shining that they resembled glass, and which they were so afraid of soiling that they would not go to the midnight lauds, but waited till by the light of day they might pick their steps.'

About this time his patron, Count Fulques, had fallen from grace and abstracted two golden vases from St. Martin's treasury, in punishment for which crime he was prostrated by mortal sickness. In a dying condition, the count was carried to St. Martin's tomb, where Odo went to him, and told him that if he would restore the stolen vases his health would return. He obeyed, and straightway he was healed ; and Odo urged him to dedicate to God the life which had been miraculously restored. Grateful though he was, he considered that was asking too much ; and he proposed as a substitute his friend Adhegrinus, who, fired by the story of Fulques, and moved by Odo's words, renounced his profession of arms, gave his property to the poor, and dedicated himself to the service of God. His example was followed by several of his friends, but they sought in vain throughout 'all Francia' a monastery where they might live the regular

life. Adhegrinus thereupon resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. His way lay through Burgundy, where he came to Baume, at the foot of the Jura Mountains, and found there, to his joy, a monastery where the rule of St. Benedict was kept. He returned to tell Odo the glad tidings, and Odo again left the Abbey of St. Martin and betook himself to Baume, where Berno had, in the year 904, re-established the regular life in the monastery founded by St. Columbanus.

When Odo arrived at Baume in the year 909, being then thirty years old, he received a gracious welcome, partly because he brought with him a hundred books, a welcome treasure to the monks of Baume ; and Berno hastened to propose him as Director of the Cloistral School, where his pupils were chiefly the *oblats*—boys living at the monastery. The following year Berno begged him to receive holy orders ; and, though at first Odo protested his unworthiness, Berno would not be denied.

In the year 910, Berno left Baume to found the Abbey of Cluny. William, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Auvergne, was growing old. In the gloom of a childless age the memory of his past misdeeds haunted him, and he sent for Berno, under whom he had already placed two monasteries, Dèols and Massay, to talk over the erection of a new monastery. As they talked, they stood upon ground nine miles north-west of the city of Mâcon, and the Duke bade Berno explore dale and forest for a suitable site. To his dismay, Berno fixed on Cluny, the Duke's hunting-lodge. 'Impossible!' said the Duke. 'I cannot have my dogs removed.' 'You know which will the more avail nigh to God, the barking of the dogs or the prayers of the monks,' replied Berno. The Duke gave way, and ordered the building to begin. So, in September 910, Odo was chosen, although then but a deacon, to proclaim at Bourges the great charter that gave the Vill Cluny, on the River Grosne, and everything belonging to it, to the Apostles Peter and Paul for founding there an abbey of the Order of St. Benedict. The monks themselves were to

build the monastery according to their skill and knowledge, and no secular prince, count, bishop, nor even pope, could seize their property, divide or diminish it, or give it to benefit another. Berno was to be the first abbot, and on his death the monks were to be free to elect his successor.

In the year 924, Odo was elected, much against his will, Abbot of Baume. In the year 926, Berno, warned of his approaching end, commended Odo to the suffrages of the monks of Cluny as his successor; and, on his death, Odo, being then in his forty-eighth year, became the second Abbot of Cluny, with authority over the dependent houses, which were ruled by priors or co-abbots who were the nominees of the abbot, and not elected by their own communities, as is the normal Benedictine custom. The burden of this office can be estimated from the fact that every profession, even in the most distant monastery of the congregation, required his sanction, and Odo, or his assistant the grand prior, had to make annual visitations of the dependent houses. 'Gone for me,' says Odo, 'was the leisure for quiet study on which I had hitherto set my heart. But God, who knows what is best for His servants, sustained me in my new and arduous task; though had I known what was before me, I should doubtless have dissuaded the brethren from electing me to so responsible an office. My nights and days were filled with anxieties, and oftentimes my burdens seemed greater than I could bear; and it was with secret tears that I presented my petitions before the Lord.'

His first care was to complete the building of the monastery, which had been long held up through lack of funds. In 927, the building being finished, he obtained from Rudolf of Burgundy, King of the Franks, a new charter, confirming the provisions of Duke William's testament. In the same year Romainmoutier, and in the following year Aurillac, were placed under the direction of Odo, and he set over the latter Arnulf as co-abbot, under whom the monks of Aurillac turned from their evil ways. This was followed by Tulle, over which

Odo appointed Adanus as co-abbot. Arnulf extended Odo's work to Chanteuge, St. Pontius's at Narbonne, and three other monasteries ; while Adanus reformed the ruined abbey of Sarlat, which was restored and given him by Bernard of Perigux, and St. Sorus's at Genouillac.

In 930, Odo undertook the reform of Fleury, which was once the greatest monastery of Gaul, possessing, as it did, the relics of St. Benedict, which had been removed there after the destruction of Monte Cassino by the Huns, but which had fallen from its high estate. Count Elisardus, hearing of the infamous life of the monks, asked and received the monastery from King Rudolf, and begged Odo to reform it ; but the monks were prepared to resist with force of arms. For three days emissaries went to and fro, and matters were at a deadlock. Then Odo took the decision into his own hands, and mounted an ass and set off alone towards the monastery. As he approached the gate of the abbey, the hearts of his enemies were changed, and they threw away their weapons and embraced his feet. But though, in a revulsion of feeling, the monks had thrown themselves at his feet, they were not so ready to remain there. He met with stubborn resistance to the two first principles of his reform, viz. that no private possessions should be held by the monks, and that no flesh meat should be eaten ; but his tact and patience won in the end.

The last Frankish monastery to come under Odo's rule was St. Julian's, Tours, which had been devastated by the Northmen ; but in 937 Archbishop Teotolo rebuilt the abbey, which he and his sister richly endowed, and Hugh the Great also gave it land ; and, when the restoration was complete, Odo was asked to inaugurate the reform.

In the last years of his life, Odo was chiefly occupied with reform in Italy, where the standard of religious life was even lower than in Gaul. The whole Church, from the Papacy downwards, was materialized and demoralized. Country benefices were in the hands of the nobles, who presented

them to their favourites, regardless of character or moral fitness ; the sale of bishoprics and other spiritual offices was common ; even children were given high appointments in the Church. In the upper ranks of the clergy, extravagance and vice prevailed ; even the cathedral clergy openly paraded their wives and mistresses. Monasteries were deserted and monastic lands lay waste, and were an easy prey to any noble who cared to appropriate them. The King, Alberic of Rome, took over all the monasteries and their properties on which he could lay his hands, and with them rewarded his supporters. But after he had begun to feel his position secure his policy was radically altered. He found that, by enriching his supporters so freely with monastic possessions, he might make them a menace to his own power ; so from being an oppressor of the monks he became their champion. This sudden conversion had taken place some time before Odo's first visit to Rome in 936. Odo was quick to seize his opportunity, and with the support of Alberic he began his reform in central Italy. Under his direction several of the Roman monasteries were rebuilt, including St. Paul's, outside the walls, which became his head quarters in Rome, and over which he placed his disciple Baldwin as co-abbot. The King transformed the palace on the Aventine in which he was born into the monastery of St. Mary's ; and St. Lawrence's and St. Agnes's, outside the walls, and St. Andrew's, on the Clivus Scaurus, were also restored and placed under Odo's jurisdiction. To restore Monte Cassino, the Mother of Western Monasticism, required more time and labour than Odo was able to spare, but he improved its condition. Subiaco was in a similar plight, having been devastated by the Saracens ; but in 936 the buildings were restored by Alberic, who renewed its charters and placed it under Odo's nominee. Farfa, from which the monks had also been driven by the Saracens, and to which some had returned after murdering their abbot, was visited by Odo ; whereupon the monks fled, and he re-peopled it with monks from

St. Andrew's, on the Clivus Scaurus, the abbot of which he authorized to govern it. His influence extended as far south as Salerno, for John dedicated his Life of Odo to the monks of Salerno in a prologue which suggests that they knew and revered Odo.

In 939, Odo was called to Rome by the Pope to settle the quarrel between Hugh of Lombardy and Alberic. Peace was sealed by Hugh giving his daughter Alda in marriage to Alberic; but concord did not long continue, and in 941 Odo was again summoned to Rome to act as an intermediary. Two years afterwards he was in Rome again, when he felt death approaching; but his prayer that he might have strength to return to his native land was granted, and he set out for Tours, arriving in time for the Feast of St. Martin. On the fourth day of the festival the fever returned, and he grew weaker, and on December 4 he died.

Odo towers, like a giant, head and shoulders above his contemporaries, and without his work Cluny's later eminence would not have been possible. He worked towards the reform of monasticism as a whole, and the ideal he strove after was the establishment of uniformity and similarity of custom in all monasteries rather than the encouragement of isolated instances of cloistered perfection. He laboured to maintain one standard, and that a standard attainable by all.

W. G. HANSON.

EVANGELISM AND ITS MODES OF EXPRESSION

I AVOID in this article any such title as 'Evangelize or Perish,' for that is a slogan. One might quite well say 'Breathe or perish' or 'Eat or perish.' The subject of evangelism demands careful study.

I. WHAT IS EVANGELISM ?—Evangelism is the proclamation of the gospel given to the world by Jesus Christ. The Christian religion is not based upon a book or a creed, but upon a Person, and the gospel consists, not of the words of Jesus Christ, or His ideas about God and man only, but it consists of Jesus Christ Himself. The gospel is good news about God and His relations with men.

Evangelism, therefore, is certainly no simple matter. It is convenient for some people to limit the gospel to one aspect of it, but this is not in accordance with the mind of Christ. To preach the gospel as the death of Jesus alone is to limit the great claims of Christ. For it is very significant that Jesus Christ nowhere explicitly connects salvation with His death in the Synoptic Gospels. I would not suggest for a moment that there is no such connexion, but the first stress that Jesus made was *repentance and belief in the good news about God*, which, when appropriated in life, transforms and cleanses the whole soul of man.

It is clear to any one that the gospel is no easy matter either to grasp fully by our minds or to accept as a standard for our personal lives. Evangelism concerns the nature of God, the example, teaching, and death of Jesus, the mystery of the Holy Incarnation, the manifold activities of the Holy Spirit, 'the power of His Resurrection,' and it implies the appropriation of those revolutionary principles of love and brotherhood which the Master taught should apply to every department of human life. On account, therefore, of the wonder and vastness and richness of this gospel of Jesus Christ, it is not possible to preach to-day this gospel if it is associated with efficacious magic and crude notions about

salvation and hell, or a bleak individualistic ethic. Nor do we consider any particular theory of the Atonement capable of expressing the complete truth about the death of Jesus Christ. Whatever the atoning work of Christ reveals, it certainly does make manifest the greatness of the love of God. It reveals the holiness of God ; it condemns sin. The Cross cannot be interpreted in any mere substitutionary sense. Nor can we entertain the idea that God is angry with us, and that His anger is averted by Jesus dying on the cross. To understand Calvary, we must start with the love and the Fatherhood of God. Evangelization means the declaration of the triumphant expression of the love of God which was embodied in the Incarnation and which culminated in the Atonement.

II. THE GOSPEL IN MODERN LIGHT.—In all departments of human thought and life during the past twenty years there have been great advances. Our conception of creation has been enormously enhanced in wonder and greatness as a result of the astonishing discoveries of modern physics. The infinite spaces have been yielding up their secrets, and human imagination staggers at the appalling vastness of space. We cannot preach the eternal gospel as if all this had not happened. When Jesus lived, men believed the world was flat and the centre of the universe. In due time Copernicus discovered that it was round, and that the sun was the centre of this universe. In view of the great advances of the physical sciences, astronomy and physics particularly, we cannot, without great peril to the Christian faith, link up the gospel of Jesus to any antiquated views of creation, whether associated with the name of Archbishop Usher or any other bishop.

A true conception of evangelization implies that scientific truth as well as moral and religious truth comes from God, and that He has revealed Himself through the minds of Newton, Darwin, and Einstein in some ways, as well as through the great prophets on the moral and spiritual side

of life. Our conception of God, when we accept the modern view of creation and evolution, is of a God who, by the age-long evolutionary process, has been forming and moulding with invisible hands the vast array of the starry kingdoms, and hosts of things which we cannot even see with our most powerful microscopes and telescopes. Our idea of God becomes wonderfully greater, and it is this God that the modern evangelist proclaims as our Father. We modern evangelists believe in preaching this awe-inspiring conception of God as 'our Father and our Friend.' We are prepared to accept frankly the thought-forms of our age. We preach with avowed acceptance the valid results of modern scholarship. If we do not know what these results are, we shall not denounce those who do.

Evangelism must not be interpreted in its essence as being a method. It is not a method; it is a gospel. It is not limited to ten days' missions and special efforts, nor confined to the bringing of people to penitent forms. I am convinced that the best type of evangelism is that which has been done in our churches week by week, and which keeps in view the great social and economic problems of our day, which are utterly contingent upon the moral and religious basis of life.

III. THE AIMS OF EVANGELISM.—What are the aims of evangelism? Why do we proclaim the gospel? The aims of the modern evangelist need to be plainly affirmed. Confusion here is deadly. I should say, putting it briefly, the aims of evangelism are the following:

1. To train up children in home as well as in Sunday school to love the Lord Jesus Christ and to accept Him as their Saviour and Friend. We have found evangelism in the Churches too much concerned, I am afraid, with middle-aged and old people. In regard to young folk, evangelism means the presentation of the love of Christ. They will accept Him in their earlier years as Friend, Hero, and Saviour. There is no need, where children are brought up in a Christian home, to have any violent change such as that known as sudden conversion, although there is need they should arrive at a point where they consciously recognize that Jesus is their Friend and Lord.

2. By the grace of God to make bad men good. I know the term 'bad' is a relative term, as also is the term 'good.' But the proclamation of the gospel of Christ cannot miss the mark altogether, as there is good left even in bad men, and when that good is touched by God it is quickened and empowered, and eliminates the bad.

3. It is not sufficient, however, to think the proclamation of the gospel is to be limited to making bad men into good. It is also involved in the process of making good men into better men. It is to be noted that practically every conversion in the New Testament is that of a good man who becomes a better man. Unfortunately we have too many people in our Churches who are just good enough not to be bad.

4. Evangelism aims at building up the Church, the beloved community, the great fellowship of Christ, through which men are brought into intimate union with God and His people.

5. Evangelism is concerned with the bringing in of the Kingdom of God, and this implies some very important things. It excludes that idea of getting our own souls saved, and scrambling into Heaven somehow ourselves. I do not think we need fear about the scrambling, as there is not likely to be a big rush in to the Kingdom. The gospel delivers us from selfishness, and the essence of sin is selfishness. It aims at bringing in that blessed Kingdom of God, and it involves, especially in these days, that Christians shall oppose economic and industrial evils, insist on the abolition of slums, the crushing of the drink evil, the chaining up of the dogs of war, and the cutting out of the life of the community the miserable evil of gambling. In other words, the aim of evangelism is not simply the conversion of an individual here and there, but the transformation and transfiguration of the whole of the civilized and uncivilized life of the world. If we are doing our duty, we cannot expect our preaching to be popular. It is quite probable that it will lead us to a cross. We have been too much afraid of upsetting self-complacent people in our Churches, but the way of truth is not the way of popularity. It is a stony and thorny pathway that leads to a hill with three crosses, the central one of which embodies what evangelism means.

The aim of evangelism is to produce ethical and spiritual values in the lives of men, irrespective of nationality, colour, or creed.

IV. TYPES OF EVANGELISM.—I avoid the phrase 'methods of evangelism' because it is presumptuous to think that we make methods through which the Spirit of God functions. The methods themselves should be determined by the indwelling Spirit.

Types of evangelism vary considerably. The Moody and Sankey type was good in its way and in its day, but is no good to-day. It is a type which has died out. A new type of

evangelism which makes itself distinctly felt in the Churches to-day is the Group Movement. The Oxford Group Movement and the Cambridge Group Movement are one in essence, although not the same in viewpoint. The house-parties held at Oxford and in other places evidence that there is a steadily growing number of people from many countries, representing all classes and every variety of social life, who have found through these Groups a compelling experience of Jesus Christ. 'Families have been re-united, Churches permeated with a new life, as that experience has passed on from them to others, and men and women, hitherto divided by barriers of race, wealth, and philosophy, have found a new unity and common action.' The Cambridge Group Movement comes to the same issues in a different way, arriving at the experience of the 'thrilling reality of God' after much discussion and questioning. This Group is expanding as a cleansing influence amongst our educated young men and women.

But clearly different types of evangelism suit different types of people. We must not give the impression that the gospel is limited to the intellectuals of the day. The common man, 'the plain man,' as Mr. Balfour called him, must have the gospel proclaimed to him. This is being done in various ways through the Churches, although often very inadequately. Open-air evangelism is one of the best ways to get at the average man. The methods of Dr. Soper on Tower Hill are to be highly recommended to those who undertake this fine type of evangelism. Problems are discussed, issues clearly stated, and results are achieved. The early Methodists went out into the open air. They did not expect people to come to the Churches; they expected the Churches to go to the people. This was one of the great secrets of the Evangelical Revival.

Another method is that which comes from the assertion of Protestant principles, such as the wonderful work of Karl Barth in Germany, and gradually his influence is coming to this country. You may ask: Is Barth's fresh emphasis

evangelical in its aim, and, if so, how? It certainly is if by evangelical we mean the proclamation of the Redeemer God. He claims the redemptive experience to be at the centre of the reality of God. This is not the place to discuss the dialectical movements of Barthian theology, nor to elaborate his views on baptism, which perhaps would cause a great deal of divergence of opinion, but the whole of the Protestant world is with Barth in this great emphasis upon the primary ultimate reality of God for religion, the Church, and life. Jesus Christ is the Word of God, the proclamation of the reality of God to men. The great influence of this leader of German thought to-day will help the spread of Christianity enormously. It is indeed necessary to have our intellectual concepts clearer, but Christianity is not an intellectual system; it is a moral and spiritual dynamic which arises in the nature of God. The Protestant Churches have a great deal to learn from this tremendous contribution of Barth, although he claims to contribute nothing, but to re-affirm the great principles of the Reformation, not in the sense of anything that is final, but as a growing reality in life.

One could include without exaggeration many youth organizations as types of evangelism, because they spread the Spirit of the Master in the minds of young people. The types will vary in varying ages, times, and conditions, but the essence of evangelism is ever the same, namely, the proclamation of the gospel of God in Jesus Christ, which is to be accepted as the guiding principle of individual life, as well as the life of the community, apart from which the individual is a mere abstraction.

V. THOUGHT AND FEELING.—There is a widespread notion that evangelism is something distinct from the teaching of truth, and that it is concerned with witnessing for Christ rather than with worship. These are false contrasts. There can be no really spiritual awakening in the consciousness of men unless truth is presented to them with burning conviction by the preacher. We need fire, but controlled fire. We

need fire in our grates to warm us : we do not desire fire all over the house. We need emotion, but directed emotion. Artificial emotion created by the evangelist will result in sensationalism, which will be harmful. Jesus Christ Himself was a teacher—'a teacher sent from God.' That is what the evangelist is. He is called to teach men. True to the teacher's method, he must use emotion as a driving-power to get home the great principles he teaches. Nowhere did Jesus allow emotion to run riot. We need a teaching ministry more and more. Religious education is a great need amongst our young people. The 'good news' consists of ideas about God and Jesus Christ and their living contact with us. And this the modern evangelist must explain, using the appeal to the heart to drive home his message. Emotion is essential to religion, but emotion controlled by truth. Religious ideas must guide religious emotion.

We need to remember further that all our worshipping is witnessing. The Holy Communion, the central act of Christian worship, includes reverent witnessing. In fact, there can be no witnessing without worship.

VI. THE MODERN ATMOSPHERE.—Let me say a few words also about the modern atmosphere in which the gospel has to be preached. It does not follow, because we are not so dogmatically confident as our forefathers, that we are less religious. They lived in a much smaller world than ours. The dogmatism of the scientists of the nineteenth century has departed, and modern scientists are speaking with more hesitation and a greater sense of mystery. But are they, therefore, less scientific ? Obviously not. The same is true in religion. We feel as deeply, we who stand for the modern evangel, as did our fathers, but we have a greater sense of mystery, and we are no worse for that. The Bible has become a new book to us as a result of the work of such fine and reverent scholars as Professor A. S. Peake. The Bible and Jesus Christ have become more intelligible as a result of the work of scholars who have brooded over the sacred lore.

The mighty *fact of Christ remains*. The historical Jesus, the eternal Christ, He is the *Lord of Modern Evangelism*. We need not be at all afraid of the new knowledge, which we can harness to the gospel. The new psychology is a case in point. We must wrestle with it and extract the good. Some people are sadly afraid of it. But why? Psychology describes mental processes and religious experiences; it does not attempt to account for their ultimate causes. We have learned a great deal from it as to how religion works in the soul. In due time, when this new science has dealt more fully with the fact of conversion, whether sudden or gradual, it is quite possible that we shall have a better understanding of the central doctrine of Methodism, which is conversion.

VII. THE IDEAL OF PERFECT LOVE.—The aims of evangelism, and the methods whereby they are worked out, really all gravitate around this doctrine of Christian perfection. Some people call this 'entire sanctification,' and use mysterious words like 'second blessing,' but what we mean by perfect love is that we love the Lord our God with all our heart and soul and mind and strength, and our neighbours as ourselves. That is what John Wesley meant by the doctrine of perfect love. He did not mean some special kind of goodness reserved for certain people who were, as it were, to be super-Christians. There is only really one kind of goodness. All goodness is absolute; it is of God. Christian perfection as an experience means participating by fellowship in the goodness of God, and this has concrete, practical results in human life. The doctrine of perfect love means that we shall cease to be selfish. We shall take our place upon public bodies for the well-being of our fellows, if necessary. We shall engage in social work. We shall feel something inside us compelling us to work for the Sunday school and kindred organizations, as well as a profound desire to help forward the Church of Christ and spread the Kingdom of God. This will mean that sometimes we shall have to be brave before the opposition of influences which tend to hinder the Church and to

thwart the progress of the Kingdom. Our aim must ever be constructive rather than negative. We must build with the trowel in one hand and slay the evil with the sword in the other.

In this article I have briefly considered what I contend is the nature of evangelism and some of the methods by which it is applied, and the ideal which, by its fascinating lure, draws us ever forward into deeper and richer fellowship with the Eternal.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

Education under the Test Acts. Dr. McLachlan, in a volume issued by the Manchester University Press (12s. 6d.) shows that when the Act of Uniformity robbed many ministers of home and living not a few of them became teachers, not only to eke out a living, but mainly to secure due education for the young men who were deprived of University training. Some had been tutors at Oxford and Cambridge, and schools and academies sprang up in all parts of the country. These they contrived to maintain, though sometimes compelled to move from place to place, till the Toleration Act in 1689 gave the Nonconformists a measure of liberty. From the middle of the eighteenth century Asianism and militant Unitarianism led the evangelicals to restrict the work of the academies to the training of ministers, and to impose tests and subscription. The more liberal academies such as that of Warrington admitted laymen as well as divinity students of different religious opinions, including even a few Episcopalians. A list is given of seventy-two of the Dissenting academies. They maintained a high standard of education 'during a century in which the English universities were nearly as palsy-stricken as the Church.' Priestley at Warrington was a pioneer in the study of history and geography. Much information is given as to the studies in these academies. Doddridge at Northampton used English instead of Latin as the language of the lecture-room. He seems also to have been the first tutor to establish an academy library. The list of students trained in the academies gives a good idea of the excellence of their instruction. The history of the separate academies which covers 230 pages is of special interest, and notes of lectures, lists of text-books, and a bibliography add much detailed information to a book which throws much welcome light on the whole course of Nonconformist education for more than a hundred and fifty years. Samuel Wesley's account of Stoke Newington under Charles Morton is quoted, and Warrington, through its academy, stands out as 'The Athens of the North.' Many excellent illustrations add to the value of this unique work.

AESCHYLUS

WHEN we turn from Homer to Aeschylus, we leave the remote world of Greek epic and romance, with its speculations as to date and authorship, and come to actual and verifiable literary history. Who Homer was, how much of the epics he actually wrote, when and where he lived, we cannot know with certainty. We only know the imperishable genius which is manifested in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and from the point of view of the lover of poetry that is enough. Yet it is an advantage, when we turn to Greek drama, to know the historical setting in which it grew, and to see something of the great tragedians who were responsible for its creation. Aeschylus survives for us in seven plays, though it is probable that he wrote nearly a hundred dramas during his life of sixty-nine years, from 525 B.C. to 456 B.C. There is good reason to believe that he served in the Greek army, and fought at the battles of Marathon in 490, and Salamis in 480 B.C. This tradition is strongly supported by the vivid references to both battles in his play *The Persians*, which was produced in 472. Those are bald facts, but they show us Aeschylus as a dramatist, a soldier, and a man.

‘Whenever I think of Aeschylus, the quaint figure comes to my mind of the Marquis de Mirabeau. He had a great taste for the classics. In his library, on one side were all the great Greek and Latin poets, with busts above the shelves, and over them was the word, “Amo.” On the other side was one writer only, and one bust, that of Aeschylus, and over it the word, “Timeo.” The old man was not altogether wrong. A sense of fear is the first impression, and maybe the last of those who lay their minds open to the influence of Aeschylus.’¹

¹ C. E. Vaughan, lectures on ‘The Great Poets,’ unpublished.

About twenty-five years ago, in an old bookshop in Globe Road, off Mile End Road, East London, I came across Morshead's translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, almost new. I bought it for fourpence, and it led me on until I had read all these great plays over and over again, and always with the same sense of wonder and awe. The other Greek dramatists followed, Sophocles and Euripides, and became an unfailing source of spiritual refreshment and peace. I confess that in those days when the pulses of life run low—and to many of us such days have come—to turn to the old Greek drama is to be lifted into an atmosphere of nobleness and calm. Those who read the salt and cleansing words of Aeschylus will recall him with a feeling not unlike that of Humboldt for Homer. He said that it would comfort him on his deathbed if some one would read to him a few lines of Homer, if it was only the list of the names of the Greek ships. 'Choose friends of whom you are afraid,' said Kingsley. In that deep sense, Aeschylus is to be feared and loved.

The English versions of Aeschylus which are accessible to almost every reader are of a very high order, both of Greek scholarship and of English literature. John Stuart Blackie gives us the translation in the *Everyman Library*, and it has a special beauty in the music of the choral hymns, but in my opinion it lacks something of the austerity of the Greek, and of the cheap editions I prefer the one volume in the *World's Classics*, in which the translation is by Lewis Campbell. The seven plays are included in one volume in both of these editions. For those who can get the two volumes in the *Golden Treasury* edition, there is no doubt that Morshead's translation is likely to give a satisfaction that deepens with acquaintance.

If one might venture a very crude comparison, when we turn to the three masters of Greek drama, Aeschylus is a Hebrew prophet, Sophocles is a Greek artist, and Euripides is a French rationalist of the Revolutionary period. Certainly there is in Aeschylus something akin to the spirit of

the Old Testament. Sublime in conception, rugged and even violent in execution, he compels our awe, and irresistibly reminds us of the work of the Hebrew prophets.

I remember Professor Vaughan saying that the one prophet with whom Aeschylus has the strongest affinity is the most rugged, vehement, and violent of all—Ezekiel. Again and again as we read we are reminded, by the conceptions and imagery, of the great figure of Ezekiel. This is true in almost all respects—in style, in conception, in moral outlook.

I. MORAL OUTLOOK.—Of all the Greek writers, with one exception, Aeschylus is the only one possessed with a sense of sin, the only one in whom it wields a moulding force, whose soul is dominated by its power. The one exception proves the rule—Plato. When Plato was rediscovered, after being buried in silence for a thousand years, the Renaissance was struck by him as a Christian before Christianity, one in whose deepest thoughts might be traced a remarkable similarity to the leading ideas of Christianity. One prayed, ‘Sit anima mea cum Platone.’ It is detracting little from the statement if Plato makes the one exception.

One has to admit from the start that the sense of sin as it appears in Aeschylus is imperfect, primitive, almost barbarous. Sin is not the act of the individual will, perversity, or weakness; it is the effect of an iron law, laid by the gods on a particular family, house, or race, and which dogs their footsteps from generation to generation.

Aeschylus is thus in most glaring contrast to Ezekiel. It was the work of Ezekiel to refute the proverb, ‘The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge.’ ‘The soul that sinneth, it, and it alone, shall die.’ By contrast with that, the conception of Aeschylus is plain to us all. In the *Agamemnon*, for instance, he says,

But I alone in judgement stand ;
Lo, ’tis the deed of ill
That breeds a brood in aftertime,
Each foul birth like the parent crime.

That doom is the theme of Greek tragedy, and it fills the horizon for the moral outlook of Aeschylus.

II. STYLE.—If the style is the man, we cannot ignore style in our estimate of any poet. Here, again, Aeschylus speaks like the Hebrew prophets, in images, in what the prophets called signs. He had the supreme gift of the poet : he saw everything in pictures. The most abstract things took bodily form before his eyes. Aeschylus had the defects of his qualities. His figures are violent, grotesque. He is frigid, bombastic, sententious. This is more particularly true of the earlier plays, and perhaps it is a mark of youth—not only of the youthful dramatist, but of the beginnings of the drama itself. It must surely be remembered that *The Suppliant Maidens* of Aeschylus is the earliest existing poetic drama in any language. And we need not exaggerate the blemishes which go with the great qualities that combine in the genius of Aeschylus.

His images more often are such as touch the heart and imagination. He sees the soul, and grasps the inner meaning which lies behind the flesh and form. So long as he can speak in images he is content with the homeliest. He compares the mingling of the shouts of triumph of the Greeks and the shrieks of the Trojans with the mingling of oil and vinegar (and that is from the lips of Clytemnaestra in the *Agamemnon*). What could be more homely, and what more effective ?

Aeschylus is tender or sublime, or he mingles sublimity with a tenderness only at the command of poets of the sublimest range, the greatest masters of the human imagination, Ezekiel, Michelangelo, Dante.

To Aeschylus, the moon is ' the eye of night ' ; the vulture is ' the wind-hound of Zeus ' ; the tender sunlit sea is ' un-numbered smile of ocean waves ' ; a ship is ' the flax-winged car of the sailor ' ; a lion-cub is ' the tender dew of the ravening lion.' This last recalls the Hebrew, ' the dew of thy youth from the womb of the morning.'

These translations I owe to Vaughan, and they are

examples which prove that Aeschylus, like all the greatest poets, actually thought and saw in figures, images, and pictures.

III. CONCEPTION.—The same qualities of sublimity and poetic vision are seen in the general conception of the plays. We see it most clearly if we turn to the earliest plays : *The Suppliant Maidens*, *The Persians*, *The Seven against Thebes*, *Prometheus*.

i. *The Suppliant Maidens*.—We can trace the growth of the dramatic element in these plays, and at the same time see the essential individuality which marks them all. In *The Suppliant Maidens* a slender thread of dialogue supports long choral songs, and the dramatic form depends in the main upon one actor and the chorus. There is little, if any, plot. There is one passionate situation painted to the eye and mind.

Fifty maidens, at once heroines and chorus, flee from the violence and lust of the sons of Aegyptus. Throughout the whole play, one thing only is felt intensely ; it is the picture of these forlorn creatures clinging to the altars of the gods and praying they may be saved. The King and people of Argos give them sanctuary, and the play closes with songs of gratitude on the part of the fugitives.

ii. *The Persians*.—*The Persians* stands alone among the dramas in having none of the old legends as a background. It is independent of all myths, and draws from recent history for its story. It was written to celebrate the greatest victory ever won : the defeat at Salamis of the fleet of Xerxes by the Greek navies in 480 B.C. The messenger's description of the battle has an epic ring, and yet the play was brought out only eight years after the sea-fight which it celebrates. Morshead says very aptly, ' It is as though Shakespeare had commemorated, through the lips of a Spanish survivor, in the ears of old councillors of Philip the Second, the defeat of the Armada.'

The night before the battle, the Greek general, a man of many wiles, sent forth a rumour that the Greeks were about

to retire. Then Xerxes ordered all his admirals to close the outlets from the strait, that the Greek fleet might have no means of escape. Then night departed, and it was clear that the Greeks were in no wise bent on flight. Came a shout from the Greek ships; not the shrill cry of fear, but the solemn shout of triumph. Fear fell on the host of the Persian barbarians, for the Greeks were moving to battle with undaunted heart. The same moment the oars smote the waves, and the whole fleet bore down on the invaders.

Sons of the Greeks, arise!
Free ye your Fatherland!
Your wives, your children, altars of your gods,
Tombs of your forefathers!
Now all, all are at stake!

How much, in the whole roll of literature, rises to the level of these lines on freedom? A few sonnets of Wordsworth, a score of lines in Byron, half a dozen lines of Shakespeare.

iii. *The Seven against Thebes*.—Five years after the date of *The Persians* (in 467 B.C.) the play which we call *The Seven against Thebes* was presented at Athens. Aristophanes gave it this name, in *The Frogs* (406 B.C.), where he describes Aeschylus' play as '*The Seven against Thebes*, a drama instinct with war, which any one who beheld must have yearned to be a warrior.' Yet Thebes is not mentioned in the play, and it is a poetic presentation of an earlier legend of the fortress of Cadmus.

There is only one image—that of the beleaguered city. You see the figure of the watchman, the slaughter of the bull, then the oath by the god of war, 'We will not hold the hand till Thebes is level with the dust.'

The play deals with the house of Oedipus and is the third part of a trilogy, of which the first two parts are lost, but the story is given by Sophocles and Euripides, so that we can trace the fate which pursued the two brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, until the former holds the city against the attack of his brother and the Argive allies. The watchman tells

how, each breathing forth slaughter, they draw near, till Eteocles, prince of Thebes, hearing his brother advancing, cries :

O Heaven-infatuate, God abandoned !
O race of Oedipus, our race ill-starred !

Brother with brother, I will be matched, and foe with foe.
Bring forth my greaves, to fend the sling-stone and the spear.

So brother to brother, foe to foe, they go, amid the horror of siege and danger and blood shed by a brother's hands.

Their sisters, Antigone and Ismene, are brought where the bodies of the two brothers lay.

Fate, o'er our heads, thy potent frown doth lower,
O shade of Oedipus, this is thine hour,
O dark Erinys, dreadful is thy power.

The processional chant, as the mourners bear the dead, has a solemn beauty of its own :

Thou wert smitten, in smiting ;
Thou didst slay, and wert slain—
By the spear of each other
Ye lie on the plain,
And ruthless the deed that ye wrought was, and ruthless the deed of the twain.

iv. *Prometheus*.—The *Prometheus* is the best known, and perhaps the most marvellous, of the plays of Aeschylus. It is too great for eulogy. The effect of its sublimity and grandeur upon the heart and mind is to inspire reverence and awe. That it was the first part of a trilogy, and that the second and third parts were called the *Prometheus Freed* and *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* respectively, are common knowledge. But with its gigantic and superhuman plot, raising questions of justice, human and divine, this stupendous drama, of which two-thirds have been lost, leaves an aching void in our minds. We need no reminding that our English Shelley made a magnificent attempt to provide a sequel. Morshead says finely that we shall never discover the full sequel of Aeschylus' mighty dramatic conception : we know in part, and we prophesy in part.

The play presents to us the gods of Olympus in the days when mankind crept like emmets on the earth or dwelt in caves, scorned by Zeus and the other gods, until Prometheus the Titan, whose name means forethought, took pity on them, and gave them the secret of fire, and taught them letters and handicrafts, art and science. For this kindness to mortals, Prometheus is punished by Zeus; he is conquered and humbled by his unjust foe, and is nailed and clamped and riveted to the rocks of the Caucasus, to endure torment unending through the ages. Yet Zeus cannot kill Prometheus, for he is a god.

The play is a great advance on *The Suppliant Maidens*, in which also the sufferings of the wandering maid Io are touched on. There is a parallel and contrast when the woes of Io and Prometheus are compared. Pity and mercy are represented by the compassion of Hephaistos, the Olympian blacksmith who clamps him to the rocks—

Out on my cursed mastery of steel—

and in the undaunted faithfulness of the tender and delicate Ocean nymphs who come to minister to Prometheus. They sing

For the woe and the wreck and the doom, Prometheus, I utter my sighs :
O'er my cheek flows the fountain of tears from tender, compassionate eyes.

Yet from the moment he is nailed there, one thought possesses the piece—that of the unbroken will of the injured deity. He sacrificed everything to give freedom to men. Though the heavens fall and crush him, he will not quail.

O Sky divine, O Winds of pinions swift,
O fountain-heads of Rivers, and O thou,
Illimitable laughter of the Sea !
O Earth, the Mighty Mother, and thou Sun,
Whose orb'd light surveyeth all, attest
What ills I suffer from the gods, a god.

The same thought is supreme at the close. Amid thunder and lightning, Prometheus speaks :

Lo, now in deed, no longer in word,
 But in sheer sooth the world is stirred.
 The massy earth doth heave and sway . . .
 The caverned thunders boom.
 See, how they gleam athwart the sky,
 The lightnings through the gloom. . . .
 In wildest uproar unconfined,
 A universe of warring wind!
 And falling sky and heaving sea
 Are blent in one, on me, on me. . . .
 Drives down in might its destined road
 The tempest of the wrath of God!
 O holy Earth, O mother mine!
 O Sky, that biddest speed along
 Thy vault the common Light divine—
 Be witness of my wrong.

We know that if the storm should last for ever, his will remains unbroken.

THE HOUSE OF ATREUS.—The later plays of Aeschylus, the *Trilogy of the House of Atreus*, are in strong contrast with the plays we have been considering. In the earlier plays there is little or no plot, but one dramatic situation passionately conceived and vividly pictured. Here the whole thing is changed. You have massive structure, Cyclopean architecture of plot, yet closely welded into a terrible simplicity and unity, with magnificent economy of effort.

The best way of realizing this is to consider the bare scheme of the three plays. The general theme is the curse of blood which hangs over the house of Atreus, which descends from generation to generation, and compels each in turn to work the deed of blood.

Long before the action in the play begins, between two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, there was a blood feud. Thyestes is driven from Mycene by his victorious brother. Later on, Atreus treacherously invites Thyestes to return, and, unknown to him, cruelly murders his two sons, and offers them served up to Thyestes to eat at a feast.

When, too late, Thyestes learned of the horrible deed done

to him and by him, he fled in horror. This crime called down the curse of the gods on the house of Atreus. All this lies apart from the action of the trilogy. It is presupposed, but is always in the background.

i. *Agamemnon*.—In the *Agamemnon*, the son of the wronged man, Aegisthus son of Thyestes, bides his time for vengeance, and then, when Atreus' son, Agamemnon, departs to meet the hosts of Troy, he feels his time has come.

He wins Agamemnon's wife Clytemnaestra, with adulterous love, and she, having another reason (Iphigenia's fate—that is another story) to hate her husband, agrees to await Agamemnon, and on his return she slaughters him with the sword of Aegisthus. The horror of the death of Agamemnon is the climax of the play.

ii. *Choephorae*.—Orestes, son of Agamemnon and Clytemnaestra, had been sent from the land by his mother, to get him out of the way. He now returns with his friend Pylades to execute vengeance on his mother for the murder of his father.

Prompted by Pylades and his sister Electra, he nerves himself to the terrible deed, and slays Aegisthus and then Clytemnaestra. Revulsion comes over him, and he sees—is it with the bodily eye or the eye of the mind?—the Furies—the hounds of Nemesis who track down the wrongdoer—gathering round him to avenge the deed of blood. They hound him like Cain over sea and land, a homeless wanderer.

iii. *The Eumenides*.—Orestes, guided by Apollo, finds refuge in the Temple of Athena at Athens. The Furies are waiting, crouching around him. Athena appears, and takes upon her to have the cause tried. The Senate of Athens, the Council of the Areopagus, is summoned. The Furies give evidence against Orestes. Apollo, who had counselled the death of the mother, appears in his favour. A vote is taken, and the numbers are equally divided.

Athena gives her vote, the goddess in her own temple decides his fate, the curse is lifted, and atonement is made.

What could be simpler than that plot? Crime, vengeance, atonement, so it is all summed up. The three plays weld the whole dread story into an inevitable and overwhelming unity.

FINAL ESTIMATE.—How shall we sum up the qualities that make Aeschylus the supreme master of tragic drama, with the possible exception of Shakespeare alone? We may read the *Electra* of Sophocles, which tells the story of the *Choephoraë* of Aeschylus with clearer artistic unity, or the very human *Electra* of Euripides, but, in the balance, Aeschylus excels the others in two respects: first, in dramatic power, and second, in moral intensity.¹

i. *Dramatic Power*.—The general effect of the drama of Aeschylus is overwhelming. You feel it immediately the sentinel begins to speak in the *Agamemnon*, or Orestes in the *Choephoraë*. Yet that overwhelming effect is wrought by the simplest possible means. The very simplicity of the structure serves to drive home the whole point of the story—the heart of the situation, the dreadful situation. I know of no poetry so overwhelming, and, because Aeschylus draws into his net detail which the Greek method rules out, it is still more overwhelming. He has unrivalled power of embodying the deepest thoughts in pictures that appeal to the eye as well as to the mind. As examples of this dramatic power, consider:

a. Cassandra, the desolate captive brought to be a slave, left outside the palace of Agamemnon. The spirit of prophecy comes over her. She sees the grim deeds of an earlier generation, the children of Thyestes and their horrible fate; she sees the triumphant warrior, with one friend only left; she sees him murdered in his own house by his own wife. Scarce has she uttered her terrible prophecy when the cry of Agamemnon is heard.

¹ I am indebted here to my old tutor, the late C. E. Vaughan, of the University of Leeds.

b. Pylades, in the *Choephorae*, is a mute. But, when Orestes is face to face with his mother, the will of Orestes quails, and he turns to his friend.

What must I do, Pylades ?

And the mute person answers :

Where, then, are the oracles of Apollo ?

Where is the faithful oath ?

To shrink now is to honour thy foes more than thou honourest the gods.

The decisive importance of that moment is marked in the history of drama, as it is seized on by Aeschylus as the occasion for introducing another actor. The completely new dramatic feature indicates how adequate is the art of Aeschylus to deal with the tremendous problems of life.

c. *The Furies*. Equally appealing is the vision of the Furies at the close of the *Choephorae*. The scene is darkened ; it terrifies the soul. The whole scene is dominated by the Furies, crouching ready to pounce upon their prey.

d. Last, in the *Eumenides*, after the scene is introduced in fifty lines, the stage is filled with ghastly figures, snakes in their hair, blood oozing through their eyes, breath fetid and blood-laden. That picture is placed before us, not in imaginative form, but before the eyes of the body ; we see with our eyes the relentless, ghastly hounds of remorse and fury.

These are only a few examples of the overwhelming dramatic power of Aeschylus.

ii. *Moral Intensity*.—The second quality which we are never allowed to forget is that of moral intensity. Aeschylus reveals an unfailing, unyielding grip of the moral issues set before us.

Even in the earlier plays, but more especially in the *Agamemnon* and *Choephorae*, he holds the balance surprisingly between the champions brought into collision in each of the plays. The balance never falls until the justice of the cause has been weighed from beginning to end.

i. *Clytemnaestra*.—Aeschylus recognizes the excuses Clytemnaestra may urge for the murder of her husband. He tells us how her daughter had been sacrificed to gain a passage for the Greek fleet. The fate of Iphigenia is one of the horrible legends which haunted the ancient Greeks. There is an echo of it in the Hebrew story of Jephtha's daughter.

Cassandra is brought as a captive to share the house of Agamemnon. This also is told us. Yet, in holding the balance, the poet deliberately lets the scale of Clytemnaestra fall. Our sympathies are, and are intended to be, against Clytemnaestra.

ii. *Orestes*.—Orestes quails; his will is unnerved; the horror of the deed is too great. It is the purpose of the poet that we too should feel this; yet we also feel that the deed is necessary and just. Blood calls for blood, is the poet's text; murder called for murder to avenge it. Orestes was bound to avenge his father; the god Apollo had enjoined it; and the avenging of his father meant the murder of his mother. And yet he shrinks from the deed. Here is the clearest and finest illustration of that moral intensity in which Aeschylus is supreme. The human figures vanish into vapour and smoke, and two eternal principles, spiritual forces, are locked in deadly conflict: the old and the new—the *lex talionis* and the law of mercy. The issue is between the law, blood for blood, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and that other law, deeper and higher, which whispers, 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.'

That issue Aeschylus holds before us through the whole of the later plays. We are never allowed to lose the sight of it from our eyes. And of both laws Aeschylus sees the necessity and force. In the final issue he sees that the law of mercy must and shall prevail.

Even with his primitive and barbarous conception of sin, and though he had no gleam of the inner and spiritual truth of penitence and redeeming grace, Aeschylus had found a

window opening on the light ; he had cast a bridge over the gulf which separates rigid justice from the region of mercy and repentance. He had some glimpse of the vision which Dante gives with the deepest thought of the Middle Ages, and the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* may justly be compared with the deepest religious thought of ancient Athens, as it comes to us in the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoraë*, and *Eumenides* of Aeschylus ; for the three plays with the three themes of Dante, giving us in the most dramatic and gigantic pictures : guilt, purgation, and reconciliation. How did Aeschylus close the *Prometheus* ? When shall the power of the curse be laid to sleep ? When it shall please the gods to lay aside their wrath. How did he close the trilogy of Atreus in the *Eumenides* ? Where shall the curse of blood be lifted ? Where but in the city of free will ? The conflict of the spirit shall find its issue in the Temple of Athena, in the city of ' Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence,' to which the modern world owes more than we can reckon. There the Furies are changed into the Eumenides, the bringers of blessing, and are conducted with torches to their residence of honour at the foot of the hill.

O gleaming torch,
Lead onward, that these gracious powers of earth
Henceforth be seen to bless the life of men.

S. G. DIMOND.

BIOLOGY AND ITS WONDERS

Life: Outlines of General Biology. By SIR J. ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A., LL.D., and PATRICK GEDDES, Emeritus Professor of Botany, St. Andrews. Two volumes. (Williams & Norgate. 1,552 pages, 202 illustrations, £3 3s.)

THE Preface to these 'large and crowded volumes' gives a clear account of the aims which the two eminent professors have had in view in their survey of biology in all its essential inquiries into the nature, continuance, and evolution of human beings. The relations between biology, as central among the sciences, with chemistry and physics on the one side, and psychology and sociology on the other, are illustrated with much fascinating detail. The mechanistic advances of bio-chemistry and bio-physics are utilized, and the need of complementing them by the no less necessary utilization of psychologic and neo-vitalistic viewpoints and doctrines is steadily kept in view. Personal contributions on the metabolic theory of sex, types of animal behaviour, and such subjects as reversion, parasitism, and the influence of the environment, bring out many human and social applications of biology—medical, eugenic, educational, and even civic. Biology is an inquiry into the nature, continuance, and evolution of living creatures. It leaves its subsciences to describe various organisms, but deals itself with the problems and generalizations common to all living creatures, and on which each line of specialism sheds its particular light.

The wonder of the world grows more and more impressive. Aristotle knew about 500 different kinds of animals; now the list includes 25,000 different kinds of backboned animals, and a quarter of a million—some say half a million—backboneless animals, each itself and no other. Man's body is

made up of millions of cells, yet each has the same fundamental structure. The orderliness of Nature and the pervasiveness of beauty are sources of constant wonder. Life is also 'an enduring insurgent activity, growing, multiplying, developing, enregistering, varying, and above all evolving.' It not only flows; it flows uphill. There is not merely conservation, there is advancement. 'Who can say "Finis" to evolution?' The chapter headed 'Ecological' dwells on the utilization of biological studies as steps towards interpreting the panoramic visualizing of the drama of life now in progress on the world stage and the distinctive scenes in past geologic time. The haunts and habitats of living creatures, and the march of the seasons, furnish fascinating studies of environment. The touch of a gossamer thread on our faces as we walk may lead us to 'intercept the little aeronaut itself, hanging back downwards from a tiny hammock of silk from which threads float out, often in two directions. This hammock is the spinner's magic carpet on which it makes wonderful journeys, sometimes for fifty miles. In Canada we caught some of these silken balloons about the size of black currants, and provided with very long threads.' That is one of the thousand wonders on which this book throws light. No one can fail to feel its charm. Every page has its wonders. Changes, such as the reduction of shelter, have some advantages, but, from the agriculturist's point of view, there is much to be said for hedgehog, weasel, and shrew, for thrush and blackbird, titmouse and wheatear, robin and cuckoo. Slow-worms feed largely on slugs; lizards are mainly insectivorous; frogs and toads are all to the good, and all depend on appropriate wild shelter.

The physiological section begins with animal locomotion. The leap of the salmon is one of the most admirable gymnastic feats among animals. Against a rapid rush of water, it hurls itself into the air and surmounts a cascade many feet in height. It has to attain a high momentum before it leaps,

and much of its posterior body is sheer muscle. The structure of the eye in all the vertebrates is on the same general plan as that of a camera, but it has two lenses—the lens proper, behind the iris, and the cornea in front. In fishes, the whole work is done by the iris. The evolution of sight and its nature in earthworms, which have no eyes, yet are very sensitive to differences of light and shade, is one of the marvels of Nature. Such a subject as the biology of tears is of no small interest. A flow of tears may follow a strong scent, a blow, irritant particles in the eye, exposure to intense cold, and various other stimuli. It is an exaggeration of the normal secretion of the lachrymal gland which moistens the surface of the eye. How creatures find their way about is another wonder. A bee carried in a box a mile from its hive will, when liberated, often rise in the air, circle round a little, and then make a bee-line for home. Within a short distance the smell of the hive may guide them, but the chief clue is visual. Some men are deficient in the sense of locality, but very gifted men known to the writers could find their way without a compass on a moorland shrouded with mist. They had served a long apprenticeship to way-finding, and were objectively minded; their only stipulation was that there should be no talking. Young birds in many cases set off by themselves, to all appearance, on their long journey to an unknown goal. The young cuckoo is left by its parents to make the long southward journey alone, unless it may get help from its foster-parents. The return route in spring is for many birds different from that followed in autumn, yet in a number of cases it has been proved that the young bird, after wintering in the south, returns in spring to the precise place of its birth.

As to sleep, the favourite theory at present is that the brain includes a special sleep-governing centre situated either in the central grey matter or in the region called the thalamus. The more wide awake we are, intellectually and artistically, the more sleep we require. 'There is a warning

to man in the guinea-pig, that does not sleep !' Dr. R. D. Gillespie does not find much evidence that prolonged sleeplessness has either mental or bodily ill-effects in man. In a few cases it has caused delirium, but after a good sleep the patient was all right again. Children grow during sleep, and the adult stature is restored, so that a recruit just below the limit of acceptance in the afternoon or evening may touch it when measured the next morning (as, indeed, the story goes of the late Lord Roberts). 'He giveth His beloved sleep' has been revised and extended into the yet fuller saying and richer promise, 'He giveth to His beloved in sleep'—'on which we have heard, in an at first expectation unpromising little country church, an admirable psychologist's sermon.' The problem the schoolboy failed to puzzle out at night was sometimes simply there next morning on awakening. The late Margaret McMillan, 'one of the most sympathetic, and thus wisest, of educationists, to our mind, on lines even surpassing those of Montessori,' in speaking of her ideal training college for teachers, claimed that putting the children to sleep was the most important of all educational tasks. As to food, we find small quantities of vitamins present in many kinds of natural food. They were practically discovered by Sir F. G. Hopkins, the Cambridge bio-chemist, twenty years ago. The exclusive use of rice which has been deprived of its outermost zone leads to disease, which may be overcome by using unpolished rice. Too monotonous diet, or lack of milk for children, may cause a deficiency of vitamins.

The service of chemistry to biology forms an interesting study. Lavoisier is the initiator of modern bio-chemistry. He 'showed that life was literally a flame ; he put the living creature beside the lighted candle, and henceforth the burning bush became the symbol of the living organism.' The Red of the Terror guillotined him, the judge madly crying out that 'the Republic has no need of savants,' Liebig fixed attention on the circulation of matter and made

us see in animate Nature a cycle of reincarnations. Pasteur was another great initiator who profoundly influenced biology by his study of ferments. The uses of colour are manifold. Colour in the kingfisher darting upstream like an arrow made of a piece of rainbow ; the golden orange ; the newly caught herring, blue and green, silvery and red ; bluebells, ripe cherries, purple heather, poppies ablaze among the corn, the rubies and emeralds of the bird of paradise, the golden kingcups, the butterfly's wing, the daring display of the parrot—'What does it all mean, this long gamut of coloration ? A joy for ever, of course ; but this narrow human point of view, though by no means unreasonable, is not satisfying.' Colour may be purely incidental, as in withering leaves, or it may have some primary significance. The subject is one that invites close study. The redness of earthworms shows that things are seldom so simple as they seem. It probably protects them from the injurious effects of light, to which they are extraordinarily susceptible, and this makes us think of their subterranean and nocturnal habits. Aristotle spoke of the luminescence of dead fishes and damp wood, but this we now know is due to bacteria and fungi respectively. A mastery of the secrets of luminescence may 'some day lead to practicable and highly economical utilizations for lighting purposes. . . . It is as yet but a dream, yet by no means a wholly absurd one, that from the ranks of such resourceful and untiring workers may yet emerge for us even rival companies of lamplighters, surviving by economy of energy over their predecessors, and why not even more pleasing too !'

The colour of the hair seems to depend almost wholly on there being less or more of a dark pigment called melanin. A black cat has much of it ; a polar bear has little. The fox comes midway. The colour of the human hair, unless it be very dark, changes with age. The flaxen-haired baby becomes a brown-locked boy and he in turn may become dark, though never black. This means a progressive increase

in the production of melanin (until grey hairs begin), but why this should come about no one knows. Another general fact is that in Great Britain and in North America there is a greater proportion of dark shades among women than among men—perhaps an illustration of the fact that females are more conservative of ancestral conditions. Early Palaeolithic man, who used only rough stone implements, is believed to have had reddish-brown to black hair. Children sometimes seem to blend the colour of their parents' hair, in other cases they all appear to favour one side of the house.

The danger to health and life from microbes is constant. Cholera, dysentery, plague, tuberculosis, and other diseases are due to invasions by bacteria; malaria and sleeping sickness are caused by microscopic protozon not less violent. They tend to multiply with inconceivable rapidity, for the division of one would give over sixteen millions in twenty-four hours. An insect or a tick may make a puncture in the skin and introduce some parasite or some micro-organism which has been lodged about its mouth or sting. 'Thus many people have suffered from blood-poisoning after being stung by the relatively harmless wasp.' The phagocytes, or devouring cells, war against the pernicious microbes and form a bodyguard of internal defences.

From these physiological wonders the professors pass to those of reproduction and sex, which are studied in their various phases in flowers, fishes, birds, and mammals. Courtship among animals has many amusing features. The great crested grebe's courtship includes waggling and swaying, bending and shaking, with gifts of water-weed. The lapwing, or peewit, performs an extraordinary aerial dance, with nose-dives and somersaults, prayerful cries, wing-music, posing and show-off, and excited formation of suggestive 'scrapes' in the ground. 'Fondling and kissing are well known, especially in the wiser mammals, such as elephants: occasionally there is a display of agility, as in the antics of the March hare. In some cases the males have special

decorations which are shown off at the courting time, as when the elephant seal inflates the big hood above his snout. It may also be that the fierce combats between rival males, well known in stags, antelopes, and sea-lions, may sometimes serve to excite the females if they stand by as spectators. But the victorious bully does not seem to give them much choice. On the whole, we must confess that there is not much to boast of in the courtship of mammals, at any rate till man, at his best, rises to lover and poet.' There is no little that is amusing in this section of the work.

Animal behaviour is another lively subject. Köhler found that the chimpanzees in Teneriffe, after having tried climbing and standing on another's shoulders, would put one box on another so that by the four-storied erection they might reach a banana suspended from the roof. A hand-mirror was passed with delight from one chimpanzee to another, and each made an attempt to catch the other ape behind the looking-glass. As a general rule it may be said that animals are not more clever than they need to be. The hen seems distinctly stupid, yet, if the need or desire is sufficiently aroused, its brain rises to the occasion—a natural history fact of considerable importance. We must not make every animal into a Brer Rabbit, nor must we try to prove that the animal is no more than an automatic machine, or a big bundle of reflex actions. 'Instinctive behaviour, as in ants and bees, goes like clockwork, and in many cases it is only occasionally that it becomes, say in a crisis, original and intelligent.' The racial establishment of an instinct may have been effected by a certain measure of intelligence as to its value. 'Instinct is seen at its highest and purest in ants and bees; it is subtly mingled with intelligence in birds; it wanes before intelligence in the highest mammals.'

The duration of life varies widely. An elephant may live 200 years in captivity, a parrot eighty, a sea-anemone sixty-six, a toad forty, a blackbird eighteen. The hare lives ten years, the fox fourteen. Weismann held that the golden

eagle needed its fifty years of life, because it took ten years to mature and then had only two eggs in a year. The fox and hare are much more fertile, and therefore do not need to live so long. Death, Goethe held, was Nature's device for securing plenty of life. The power to replace or repair maimed or lost parts wanes in higher animals which have nimble wits to save them, and is very common among lower forms of life such as starfishes and worms. The play-period affords opportunities for animals to test new variations before the daily struggle for existence becomes too keen. Play affords elbow-room for new departures, and is particularly valuable when the adult life is very varied, like the otter's, demanding plasticity and resourcefulness. There is a fundamental distinction between games which are restricted to mankind, and play which children share with young animals. Games have rules, and demand self-subordination; play is spontaneous, and gives room for experiments. Lions generally have a play-period lasting for a year. Many amusing instances are given of the pranks of monkeys, and puppies and birds enjoy sham fights of their own.

Considerable space is devoted in the second volume to 'Great Steps in Organic Evolution.' There has been frequent extinction of highly developed types, due to the appearance of some formidable competitor, the failure to adjust themselves to a new environment, or the growth of the body beyond the brain, as in the case of the colossal *Diplodocus carnegii* to be seen at the British Museum. When Britain was an outlier of the Continent it had its mammoth, cave-bear, cave-lion, and woolly rhinoceros. Then the ice-ages set in, and most of the mammals disappeared. When the climate grew gentler, Britain was re-colonized from the Continent. 'Most of the giants had disappeared from Europe, so that they could not be reinstated in Britain; but some stately creatures shared in the re-colonization, such as the reindeer and the magnificent

giant deer, usually called the "Irish elk." There were also wild cattle and wild boars, wolves and bears, besides some smaller mammals such as beavers and lemming. All these have since been lost; unless we reckon the domestic pig as the descendant of the wild boar. This re-colonization also included all the diverse wild mammals we now have, though some of these may have lingered in the non-glaciated parts of what is now the south of England.'

Evolution is treated with much detail. The history of the theory, the evidences of organic evolution, the theory of variation, and other aspects of the subject are explained and illustrated. Natural and sex selection are discussed at length, and the conclusion is reached that the evolution process, despite much of what we cannot but call evils, such as cosmic catastrophes, diseases, and disasters, 'is yet also productive, and ever manifestly pregnant, throughout all its phenomenal fields, of progress in its best senses; and thus towards the beautiful, the true, the good.' General Smuts's *Holism and Evolution* which brings out the evolutionary tendency to progressive whole-making, is welcomed as of 'encouraging augury towards the returning harmony of science, philosophy, and even religion, in terms of that Unity underlying the variety of Life in Evolution, which we are here seeking to express, and at so many levels, from microbe to man, and from simplest organic life-processes to their highest outcomes, and even ideals.'

The chapters on 'Biology among the Sciences,' 'Biology of Man,' and 'Biology in its Wider Aspects' accept Darwin's conclusion that man emerged from a stock common to him and the divergent anthropoid apes. Sir Arthur Keith's *Antiquity of Man* and Professor Boule's *Fossil Men* form the basis of the exposition. Biology in its wider aspects shows how natural history enriches man's mind by enhancing his visual life. 'Much of the deeper happiness of many of us—those who are eye-minded rather than ear-minded—depends on our private picture-gallery, which we enjoy with our

inner eye. The quaint tragedy is that so many prefer photographs to reality, and a cinematograph to observation. Yet it requires only earnestness of desire to collect a natural history picture-gallery of masterpieces. We should all cultivate the habit of visualizing and seeing things with our eyes shut. "I scrutinize Nature," Fabre said, but when we have scrutinized an interesting sight it is well to shut our eyes and see it all over again, like Wordsworth on his couch re-seeing the dancing daffodils. The more we see with our eyes shut, the more will we see next time with our eyes wide open.' The gains that arise from reading the Book of Nature are impressively set forth. Nature is almost all for health and beauty; the exceptions are warnings against the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin. Animals have the raw materials of the primordial virtues—control, courage, self-subordination, parental care, kin-sympathy, and often each amounts to sacrifice. The relation of biology to medicine, to human life, to population, and to ethics suggests a growing field of practical applications. That section deserves close consideration. It leads towards a theory of life which has engaged the attention of a long series of summer schools in Edinburgh. Valuable suggestions are made for further study which may more fully arouse 'the ardour and devotion of youth, uniting anew its emotional, intellectual, and imaginative powers, and these turned towards deeper and higher social achievements, with generous rivalry in the arts of true peace, at once reconstructive and evolutionary. Are not many elements of this already stirring over the world, and but needing fuller equipment, organization, and leadership in their turn?'

THE EDITOR.

CREATURES OF THE MOUNTAIN-SIDE

'**P**RETTY, pitiable little thing,' said a friend, and as he spoke he lowered a gun from his shoulder. Here he had lifted it the moment before not so much wilfully as from force of habit. Then he had realized the terrible, murderous thing he was about to do, and had actually started. It was then that he whispered the four words. We were on the broken, bramble-covered side of a Welsh hill, and were looking with astonishment and interest at a little wild polecat hissing, spitting, and screaming in the face of a stupid old sheep. We had both recognized the dark russet-brown thing, with just a little white about the face, instantly. It was spring, and the sheep was cropping the coarse, dry, bleached grass from near the entrance to a small burrow among the rocks, in which, we presumed, the polecat had babies. Almost as my friend spoke, the polecat winded us and sprang and snapped at the sheep's nose, and again screamed its strange, grating scream. Then it was gone.

I am sorry for these few little wild polecats, that survive on the Welsh hills and mountains, and so are others. I am afraid that nowhere else in the British Isles is there now a wild polecat. In Wales it is still found in moderate numbers. But almost everybody is against it. The shooting men and gamekeepers pursue it with guns and traps; the shepherds' dogs hunt it everlastingly; the farmers, poachers, and labourers search for it to try and take it alive to tame and pair with ferrets. There is little peace and rest for it. Pretty, pitiable little thing!

It is only because it has as many as a dozen young ones, when, miraculously, it lives on into another spring, and on account of the wildness of the country, that it has survived so long. The survival is really very wonderful, and says much for the creature's intelligence and instinct for apprehending

approaching danger. I am sorry, too, for the few golden eagles still to be seen in the Scottish Highlands ; sorry for the few wild cats that silently and shadow-like glide from mountain glen to mountain glen ; sorry for the few pairs of ravens that still nest on the west coast. The British Isles are so small and so densely populated that, it seems, there is no longer room for these four creatures : the polecats, the eagles, the wild cats, and the ravens. At all events, they cannot now be given adequate protection. There is always some person, and always will be, who will destroy them as a favourable opportunity presents itself. It seems like murder itself to kill creatures so rare, handsome, and interesting. But there it is ; and perhaps, in all the regrettable circumstances, it will be just as well when at last none remain to be so relentlessly pursued, bullied, and harried.

The polecat is bloodthirsty and unmerciful. Notwithstanding, when it can find enough rabbits, rats and mice, and small birds on the hills and mountains, it will not trouble itself to try and obtain other food. It is only in the depth of the winter that it ventures to come down to the lowlands. Then often it must do so or starve. However, it still feeds chiefly on rabbits and rats. When this fare is not to be had, it seems first to turn to the sheepfolds, to live on the sheep and lambs that have died and been thrown away by the shepherds, and then, as it tires of the often frozen and in other respects distasteful food, to raid the surrounding poultry yards. The polecat, like the fox, is not content to kill a single bird, which, if it could get it away—and this it cannot do—would be food enough for more than a week, but invariably kills every bird in the house, drinks the blood of each, and leaves the bodies beneath the perches.

If the poultry-keepers take the commonsense precaution of closing the entrances to their poultry-houses after the birds have gone to roost, they have not anything to fear. The polecat, unlike the rat, cannot and will not make any attempt to gnaw a way into them. When it finds the entrances

closed, it simply goes away. So what it amounts to is that, if the little animal destroys domesticated stock, the owners have only their own carelessness to blame.

Whether the creature destroys much game I do not know, but friends are of the opinion that it rarely succeeds in killing a pheasant, and takes only casual and trivial toll of the grouse and partridges. For rats it has no mercy whatever. Should it come across a colony of even two or three dozen, it will patiently hunt and try to kill the whole. It will then, at last, collect the bodies of its victims and take them into one of the rats' largest and warmest nests, and here it will wisely remain till all are consumed, which may not be for a couple of weeks. But this depends on whether the animal is joined by other polecats. When one has the good fortune to kill a large number of rats, it seems, by some means or other, to have the news conveyed to one or two of its companions, who sometimes come along and share the feast.

The polecat's family, as a rule, disperses in the autumn. The youngsters by this time are full grown and capable of fending for themselves. If, however, the family can continue to obtain sufficient food hunting together, it will not break up before the time comes in the spring for all to pair.

I was very interested to hear from a Welsh shepherd not so long ago that the big, gaunt hill fox will not harm the creature, but that when it comes across it, it turns from it with an air of pitying superiority. The fox itself does not always find it easy to obtain enough to eat, and is itself hunted, bullied, and terrified by the gamekeepers and others. So, I suppose, it has gradually developed a strong sympathy for the little companion of its bleak, desolate haunts. I think the golden eagle, also, has developed such a sympathy for the wild cat. At all events, I once saw one swoop from a great height to within twenty feet or so of a half-grown wild cat, which looked to be at its mercy, and then pull itself up, scream loudly, as though suddenly startled, rise again high into the air, and majestically fly out of sight.

It has always been something of a mystery to me how the golden eagle contrives to live at all. Almost as often as it leaves the mountain-tops many eyes turn in its direction, lest it should try to steal any of the surrounding game or should attack a lamb or baby deer, and many a gun is loaded instantly in the event of its coming within reach of the charge. It seems that it is only just after daybreak that it can feed without fear of an attempt on its life being made, and even then it must hunt in the most desolate, inaccessible places.

I myself have seen one golden eagle shot, not in Scotland, but in the Lake District. The handsome creature crashed to the ground close to me, and for a few moments there it lay as though stone dead. Both wings were extended to their utmost, and the tail was spread like a fan. But, as soon as I moved, the bird was on its feet at once, and faced me fearlessly with glittering, hard-as-steel eyes and beak slightly parted. Then I noticed that only a wing had been broken. When presently the eagle was killed outright and I handled it, I found there was scarcely any flesh on its body; it seemed just skin, bones, and feathers.

The man who fired the two shots told me with pride it was his fourth golden eagle, and that he believed himself to be the person who destroyed the Lake District's last polecat. He boasted, also, that when a boy he had helped to kill a pair of wild cats and their three kittens on the fells. The family, he added, was dug out of an old fox earth. In some districts in Scotland the wild cat is now supposed to be safe from molestation and increasing in numbers. But my information is that it is not really so. The animals apparently increased in numbers during and for about three years after the war, but since they have been decreasing, and their pursuit becomes more relentless than otherwise.

No domesticated cat has the splendour of the wild cat, who is so exquisitely striped and whose dense coat has the feeling of the best woven silk. No domesticated cat has such bright,

penetrating, beautiful eyes, such grace and quickness of movement, and so keen a sense of hearing and scent. I have never seen a wild cat that was not plump and sleek. As a hunter it is the equal of, if it does not excel, all other wild creatures. If there is food to be had, it will contrive to get its full share. It has been seen descending trees with as large a bird as a wood-pigeon, and when it realizes the grouse are being shot it will deliberately go on to the moors and frighten some of the coveys away from the guns. This may be the result of its somewhat spiteful and revengeful nature, or the fear of finding a shortage of the birds itself. Its endurance, also, is wonderful. I have been told stories of wild cats that have been found in apparently good health and condition after lying for a week with a leg in a gin and after being kept about the same length of time imprisoned in a drain. If trapped in a gin, and the animal can free itself by biting off a leg, it will not hesitate to carry out the operation, and henceforth does not seem to have difficulty in getting about on the three remaining legs and still catching enough food to keep it in the usual plump condition.

The few ravens have, I think, a greater struggle than the eagles to exist, and their shyness is not out of proportion to their fight to prevent themselves from becoming extinct, at least in the British Isles. A human being coming within a hundred yards or so of a cliff on the face of which a pair once had a nest was the signal for whichever bird was brooding the eggs to dash away instantly. This was early in March, and the weather was severe. One morning before breakfast, on looking cautiously from the top of the cliff, I found that the raven on the nest was completely hidden, except for its head, by a thick coat of snow. On this occasion the bird did not take fright and leave the eggs. Eventually, and much to my surprise, after perhaps a dozen disturbances a day, three young ones were hatched and reared till about three weeks of age. The little creatures were then cruelly shot as they stood on the edge of the nest, nearly large

enough and strong enough to take their departure into the world.

In its wild state the raven will live on almost anything, from insects and carrion to eggs and whatever small birds and baby rabbits it can get hold of and kill, but its chief food is carrion. On the game preserves it is not feared less than the eagles, wild cats, and polecats ; and, though here it does not do any harm, its presence near the sheepfold when the mother sheep have small lambs arouses hostile suspicions, and the shepherds and the farmers follow the example of the gamekeepers and shoot it when it comes within range of their guns. A few more years and it must be extinct, and I for one shall not be sorry. It is impossible for it to survive against the perpetual cruelty that is waged against it. It is, however, better that it should go than, with the eagles, the wildcats, and the polecats, it should suffer so much. As I have said, the British Isles are small, and there are these creatures and a few more others that we cannot protect. It is a wrench to have to part with them, but what is to be done ? They have all suffered and been persecuted long enough. It is this that so many people feel, and why they look forward to the time when we shall be able to make the creatures' acquaintance only in our zoological gardens.

J. C. BRISTOW-NOBLE.

Harvard Theological Review.—In the July number the colleagues of the late Professor G. F. Moore refer to his death as the removal 'from the list of editors of its most distinguished name.' Dr. Willard L. Sperry, in his article on 'The Nature of the Church' argues that 'only some "High Church" theory of its own place and work in history can assure organized Protestantism of its permanence.' In the section on 'The Reformed Churches,' Protestantism of the Calvinistic, Fundamentalist, and Liberal types is fully dealt with, but a similar treatment of the Evangelical school is lacking. Bernard E. Meland contributes a philosophical discussion of the views of Christocentric thinkers, entitled 'Toward a Valid View of God.' Carl H. Kraeling gives an able appreciation of 'The Apocalypse of Paul and the Iranische Erlösungsmysterium'—an apocryphal book which has been 'neglected by modern scholarship.'

Notes and Discussions

THE FERNLEY LECTURE FOR 1931¹

IN choosing *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation* as the subject of his lecture, Dr. Howard elected to face pressing and perplexing problems. He has literally fulfilled the requirement of the Fernley Trust Deed, for he has written 'with special reference and adaptation to the necessities of the times,' and, in serving the present age with conspicuous ability, he has made a contribution of permanent value to all students of the Johannine question. His scholarly labours in editing and completing the *Grammar of New Testament Greek*—on whose title-page his name is worthily associated with that of Dr. J. H. Moulton—has fitted him to speak, with the authority of an acknowledged expert, on the linguistic problems involved. But he is no mere grammarian, content with having 'settled Hoti's business'; his high theme is expounded and discussed with fullness of knowledge, with sanity of judgement, and with spiritual insight. The Fourth Gospel has for him an abiding value; it has 'several features . . . which give it peculiar worth, even in an age like ours, when the vivid portrait by Mark is valued as never before.'

Part I., 'Historical Survey,' presents the results of critical investigation during the first third of the twentieth century in 'some sort of chronological order,' that it may be seen 'how solutions of the Johannine problem, that at one period seemed to be regarded as final, are left behind a few years later as inadequate or misleading.' 'Yet,' says Dr. Howard—and his lecture fully justifies the statement—'few theories have been advanced which have not contributed something to our general understanding of the structure or standpoint of the Gospel.' Within the limits of this brief notice it is impossible to quote even the titles of the works of whose contents a clear digest is given. British, American, German, and French authors are included; of especial value are the concise statements of the theories of German scholars of distinction. Nowhere else can English readers find so lucid and discriminating an estimate of the value of these scholars' contributions to the solution of what is rightly called, not the problem, but the *problems* of the Fourth Gospel. From these chapters the reader should turn to the comprehensive 'Bibliography,' and then try to estimate the significance of the author's statement that 'no book or essay which he has not himself read' is included in the formidable list.

¹ *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*. By Wilbert Francis Howard, M.A., D.D. (The Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

Part II., 'Critical Investigation,' begins with a careful examination of the views of those who have challenged 'The Unity of the Gospel.' The student is warned that he may easily stumble into three snares: 'the fallacy of false analogy, the fallacy of anachronism, and the fallacy of subjectivity.' After insisting upon the necessity of applying 'some objective test as a corrective to vague impressionism,' Dr. Howard gives the results of his own protracted study of peculiarities of style in the Greek text, supplying his readers with invaluable material for forming their own conclusions in Appendix B: 'The Linguistic Unity of the Gospel and Epistles.' Attractive analytical schemes are held to be mutually destructive. 'Stylistic considerations leave a strong impression of substantial literary unity throughout the Gospel.' The Johannine Epistles are for similar reasons regarded as coming 'from the same pen as the Gospel. The Apocalypse must be attributed to a different hand.' The possibility of 'Textual Dislocations' is sympathetically considered, for 'internal evidence raises a strong suspicion that sections of the Gospel are not in their right order.' Appendix C gives in minute detail a list of 'Theories of Partition and Redaction.'

In the third chapter of Part II., 'Relation to the Synoptic Gospels and the Problem of Historicity,' it is argued that 'misplacement' may account for discrepancies between John and Mark, but the general result of the comparison is that 'in certain respects the Fourth Gospel is a valuable source for our knowledge of the course of the ministry of Jesus, supplying information where the Marcan narrative fails us, especially about the visits to the capital for the festivals, and the conflicts that there arose.' Nevertheless, in this Gospel 'Jesus is seen through a medium of ideas which separates Him in many ways from the familiar figure of the Synoptic Gospels.' Hence the critical investigations close with an instructive and constructive chapter, entitled 'The Background of Thought in its Relation to the Johannine Message.' Is the key to the true understanding of the Gospel to be found in Greek philosophic thought, in the Hellenistic mystery religions, in Gnosticism, or in influences operating in Judaism? In reply to this question, two positions are maintained: (1) 'Throughout the Gospel it is the Jesus of historical reality who is the subject of all the writer's thought,' and (2) 'The Gospel is an interpretation as well as an historical narrative.' But 'the majestic Figure whose deeds and words are expounded by the Evangelist, sometimes in a theological interest, owes nothing to Greek or Alexandrian philosophic thought.' As regards the Hellenistic mystery religions, Dr. Howard gives deserved prominence to the writings of Schweitzer; his illuminating survey duly appreciates what is valuable in *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*, but calls attention to its exaggeration of the Hellenism of the Fourth Gospel, in which 'we are far removed from the outlook of Hellenistic mysticism.' Of late the Mandaean writings have been held to show dependence of the Fourth Gospel on Gnosticism, but closer examination of the documents enables us to study 'the christianizing of an oriental

Gnosis, not the Gnostic background of early Christianity.' These influences are not creative and dominant in the Gospel. 'The historical Jesus is the central force behind the Gospel, drawing to Himself all the best thought in the world contemporary with the Evangelist.'

Part III., 'Problems of Interpretation,' includes chapters on 'Symbolism and Allegory,' 'Mysticism and Sacramentalism,' 'The Teaching of Jesus in the Johannine Idiom,' and 'The Fourth Evangelist: his Message and its Abiding Value.' Discussing the perplexing questions which cluster round the word 'allegorizing,' Dr. Howard distinguishes between the method which treats the story as a mere transparency through which we can see the real meaning, and the method of the Fourth Evangelist, who 'describes what he believes to be veritable fact, but with a keen eye to the deeper revelation which the story may contain.' But is it legitimate to interpret such a story as the raising of Lazarus as a Johannine allegory? With complete frankness and with equal reverence difficulties are considered, especially the silence of the Synoptic narratives. Some attempts to solve the problem are rejected, and the conjecture offered has difficulties of its own; 'the historical problem remains unsolved.' Diverse meanings have been read into the statement that the Fourth Evangelist is a mystic, and wise guidance is given in an altogether admirable differentiation between no less than seven types of mysticism. After summarizing the views of Baron von Hügel and Dr. Rufus Jones, Dr. Howard points out that 'Quaker and Catholic meet in their appreciation of the mysticism of this Gospel, though poles asunder in their practical embodiment of the conception.'

Before passing to his summary of the Evangelist's message and estimating its permanent value to the Christian Church, Dr. Howard essays to answer the question, Who, then, wrote the Fourth Gospel? In brief, his judgement is that the Beloved Disciple is to be identified with John the Apostle, and that he was not the writer. In an introductory chapter, entitled 'The Preacher and the Problem of the Fourth Gospel,' reasons are given for the widespread abandonment of full apostolic authorship, stress being laid on the inconclusiveness of the external evidence. But though 'we shall never know who wrote this Gospel . . . the Evangelist obviously relies upon some sources of information which he deems sufficiently authoritative to justify him in departing, in a number of important particulars, from the earliest Gospel. . . . Even though we stand at one remove from the eyewitness of the divine splendour, and hear his testimony from the lips of another, yet we know that the Evangelist was of the spiritual kindred of the Beloved Disciple.' Of the same lineage is this year's Fernley lecturer, for of him too it will be said: 'He taught the Church to stand firm on the historical revelation that came through Jesus, while relating their knowledge of Christ to the best available thought of the time.'

J. G. TASKER.

BARON VON HÜGEL'S 'LITERARY REMAINS'

READERS of that fascinating work, the *Letters of von Hügel*, will recall that in the last years of his life he was engaged on a 'big book' which should embody his Gifford Lectures. Though failing health made the delivery of these impossible, there was a general expectation among his disciples—for years past now an increasing band—that there was sufficient material prepared to justify a posthumous publication. Professor Edmund Gardner was made literary executor, and it is thanks to his industry and discrimination that the present volume sees the light. Alas, the work reached his hands in a, 'for the most part, formless and tentative condition.' Instead, then, of a goodly volume, after the manner of the Gifford Lectures, of some 450 pages, all we have is 150 pages. These contain portions of two of the contemplated three sections into which the work was to be divided—Epistemology, Ethics, and Institutional Religion—all in relation, of course, to the general theme 'The Reality of God.' A fuller title at the head of the MSS. reads 'Concerning the Reality of Finites and the Reality of God: a Study of their Inter-relations and their Effects and Requirements within the Human Mind.' The Introduction is given entire, and the greater part of chapter viii., on the Moral Apprehensions as distinct from Perceptions of Facts, but many of the chapters are fragmentary. However, whilst inevitably deploring the lacunae which at times leave one's interest but half assuaged, there is much to rejoice over. The amazing comprehensiveness which first struck the theological world at the publication of *The Mystical Element of Religion*, the serene and joyous spiritual insight, and the typical felicity of illustration are all here. Again and again we have marked passages with delight at the original and convincing treatment of some difficult theme, but space forbids their quotation. Suffice it to say, that, whilst these 'remains' are not the big work we had hoped for, they add, if possible, to our esteem for their great author.

(In what follows, no direct account is taken of the second half of the volume under review. That also is an unfinished work, finally abandoned in 1915, on the Life and Religious Opinions of Sir Alfred Lyall, noted for his *Asiatic Studies*.)

Von Hügel stood always and everywhere for that critical Realism which finds as 'sheer fact' the Eternal and the Successive, the Absolute and the Contingent, Super-nature and Nature already 'in possession.' The unresolvable 'over-againstness' of Nature (the baron was fond of this sort of coined word), the increasing 'penetrability' by reason of the External World—these things are 'there' witnessing to an Intelligence not my own; but no less and no more is man's restlessness with the Finite and satiety with mere

¹ *The Reality of God: and Religion and Agnosticism.* Being the Literary Remains of Baron Friedrich von Hügel. Edited by Edmund G. Gardner, F.B.A. (Dent & Sons. 15s.)

achievement also 'there,' pointing to the collateral Fact, viz. God, Transcendent, Holy, man's Home and Goal.

It is precisely in this fruitful tension between Spirit and Thing, between the Mystical and the Institutional, worked out in almost endless ramifications, that there lies Baron von Hügel's central contribution to religious philosophy. Man's life is not a circle round one centre so much as an ellipse round two foci, heaven and earth, soul and body. Some forget or neglect the former. They are our Materialists. But even more deadly are those doctrinaire foes of Fact, the Pantheists, who like Hegel, and unlike Christianity, take up a negative or prematurely optimistic attitude to Evil—that recalcitrant and, for us men here at all events, finally mysterious thing. Against all such shallow Monisms and unchecked Immanentisms the baron wages unceasing war. The only way for candour is to begin with the recognition of a Dualism here and now, a preliminary pessimism, God over against Evil and Suffering. Yet, of all the world religions, Christianity alone, by its doctrine of the Cross utilizing and transforming suffering through love, gives the soul 'the faith and strength to grasp life's nettle.'

It will be seen, therefore, that von Hügel's writings, and not least these 'remains' of his maturest thought, are a veritable armoury of argument against that modern Projectionism, and those 'subjectivist habits of mind' which some people would have us bring to religion (but not to geology or history), and which constitute the most insidious attack which religion in our day is called upon to meet. 'What is it,' he asks, 'but just this pressure of reality really impinging upon our own mind, this dim but most operative knowledge which we have of the very things we seek,' that makes us 'poor humans, supposed [thus] to be mere shadows amongst shadows,' to 'know and feel most keenly the horror of subjectivity'?

Yet another most vital and timely contribution that von Hügel has made to current religious thought, greatly to the comforting of many, is his insistence on the need of Institutions—Society, Family, Church, as, for us here at any rate, the inalienable concomitant and matrix of the spiritual life. Whilst it is true that 'Christianity remains unchangeably a relation between person and person, between the single human soul and Christ,' the Protestant (thus confirmed and comforted) will recognize in the religious sphere that polarity of life which we have seen at work everywhere else. In other words, spiritual things are sacramentally discerned. 'What is the good of saying that baptism is a superstition, since God's grace is not water? . . . I might as well refuse any aid from the stimulation of my senses towards my apprehension of spiritual Reality, on the ground that God is not a bluebell, that His grace is not a fern.'

And as for the Church as the fellowship, the altogether necessary fellowship, of believers, our author never allows the most independent of free-lances, the George Foxes of the earth, for instance, to forget their debt. This most liberal of thinkers can become almost cutting: 'No man is sufficient to himself, not in shoemaking, not in printing,

not in advertising: it is only in the deepest of all things, in religion, that we hear men talk and write, more often than is pleasant, as though it were sufficient for them to cut themselves off from all others to think and to write good sense.'

There remains space only to draw the reader's attention to what is surely one of the most penetrating observations in modern theological literature, and our own feeling here is confirmed by the author himself, who expects that the 'keen apprehension' of it 'may well turn out to constitute the chief worth of this book, so rare and so dim does this apprehension seem to be in the other investigators known to me.' The reference is to the penchant of religious apologists to 'get away from the external world to our interior world as the sole home and satisfying support for the religious convictions.' On the contrary, 'unless and until we attain to a very firm conviction that . . . this need, this necessary search for and delight in the good within us, are but effects of the overflowing existent Supreme Good, ethics are more exposed to be taken as projections of our individual, or at least of our general human, fancies than are the intimations of an Intelligence distinct and immeasurably superior to our own which we find in external nature.' It is, in fact, precisely the 'external world and our apprehension of it, which, in spite of the all but ceaseless friction between physics and theology, furnish the religious sense with certain uniquely valuable supports.'

The references are taken from chapter vii., on Ethics and the Theory of Knowledge, a chapter revealing the author at the very height of his powers.

Those who are not directly acquainted with Baron von Hügel's works should not *begin* with the volume under review. Either the volume of *Letters* or Mr. Algar Thorold's *Readings from von Hügel* would serve better. Those, however, who regard the two-volume work, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, as a formative influence in their religious thinking of quite unrivalled helpfulness, or find in the *Eternal Life*, as Dean Inge found, an almost ideal apologetic to put into the hands of the educated inquirer, or who look back upon their appreciation and utilization of some of the chapters in the two volumes of *Essays and Addresses* as milestones in their spiritual pilgrimage—these will be grateful for page after page in the present volume which reveal afresh the force of a great mind and consecrated soul whose work will abide.

W. LONGDEN OAKES.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Christian Faith and Life. By William Temple, Archbishop of York. (Student Christian Movement. 3s.)

THESE eight addresses made a great impression on Oxford University, and, though the atmosphere in which they were delivered cannot be reproduced, a calm study of the volume brings out their value as even the Oxford audience could not fully realize it. Dr. Temple begins with God, the source of all truth and all beauty, in whom they are found in their completeness. All life ought to be worship, but the press of daily duty makes times for worship, pure and simple, absolutely necessary to establish right relations with God. A power comes from Christ into our lives. A vivid memory of Him and an unclean thought or a mean and treacherous desire cannot be in the mind at the same time. The standard of morals is the mind of Christ. That principle gives us a touchstone. 'Everything that comes short of the glory of God made manifest in our lives is sin.' 'Miserable sinners' is a fitting description if by it we mean deserving of pity. 'We are indeed sinners, and pitiable sinners.' Dr. Temple says in the chapter on 'The Meaning of the Crucifixion': 'If we will recall Christ in Gethsemane, Christ upon the Cross, as the manifestation of what our failure means to God, there is no sin in our lives so dear to us but we shall long to be rid of it just in the degree in which we make the picture real and vivid in ourselves, and constantly dwell upon it.' The Holy Spirit is the person in the Trinity with whom we are most constantly in conscious contact. The Spirit is God's very self at work within our lives. The aim of prayer is union with God. Its proper outline is, 'Please do with me what You want.' 'In the Holy Communion, Christ offers Himself in all His fullness and holiness of love to be ours, but whether we receive Him depends on the insight of our faith, our consciousness of our need of Him, our sincerity in seeking to be united with Him in His offering of Himself to the Father.' The last address is a powerful appeal to join the Christian Society. Its interests are our own individual concern. The work to be done for God is the work of the whole body of the disciples of Christ, in which every man must be finding God's will for him, and doing that. It is a great thing to have had such words as these spoken in Oxford, and their influence will now spread far and wide through the world.

Thoughts on Some Problems of the Day. By William Temple, Archbishop of York. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d.)

This Charge, delivered at Dr. Temple's Primary Visitation, deals with certain subjects discussed at the Lambeth Conference of 1930. The archbishop begins with 'Christian Faith in God.' The spiritual interpretation of the universe to which science now points has removed a great difficulty in the way of commending the Christian faith. Dr. Temple's own conviction is 'not only that Christianity supplies a more satisfactory philosophy, judged by purely philosophic standards, than can otherwise be constructed—indeed, that must be so if the gospel is true at all—but that it is now possible, as fifty years ago it was not, to exhibit and demonstrate this to all who are not blinded by prejudice.' There is a new friendliness in the relation to non-Christian religions, but 'no one who has no missionary zeal can truly be a Christian.' The subject of sexual morality is wisely handled, and the real greatness of the Church of England as manifested at Lambeth is clearly brought out. Dr. Temple finds the position that where there is no episcopally ordained priest there is no real sacrament 'untenable, and even in the last resort unintelligible.' As to fasting Communion, Archbishop Davidson told Dr. Temple that he knew it for a fact that Mr. Keble all his days paid no observance to any such rule. The sermon on Lord Davidson is a fine estimate of a noble man, and that on 'The Majesty of God,' preached at the opening of the Lambeth Conference, adds much to the interest of the broadminded Charge.

The Religion of Man. By Rabindranath Tagore. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

The Hibbert Lectures for 1930 open up a world that it is a joy to explore. They gather up the lecturer's thoughts on this subject from lectures and addresses delivered in different countries of the world over a considerable period of his life. The Religion of Man is for him a religious experience, not merely a philosophical subject. That becomes evident when we reach the delightful autobiographical pages of the volume. His personal life is focused in his exposition. The main subject of the book is 'the humanity of our God, or the divinity of Man the Eternal.' We share the mind of the God of this human universe in all our true knowledge, love, and service, and to reveal Him in ourselves through renunciation of self is the highest end of life. Some verses in the Atharva Veda suggest that man made a great discovery 'when his body was raised upwards.' As Dr. Tagore puts it, when man at a certain bend in the path of evolution refused to remain a four-footed creature, he asserted his freedom against the established rule of Nature. His eyesight found a wider scope; his vertical position emancipated his hands. Then his mind passed beyond the reservation plots of daily life, and built the guest-chambers of priceless value to offer hospitality to the world-spirit of Man.

Man has a feeling that he is truly represented in something which exceeds himself. He is aware that he is not imperfect, but incomplete. It is amazing to see how Zarathustra was the first to cross the immense distance between faith in the efficiency of blood-stained magical rites and cultivation of the moral and spiritual ideas as the true form of worship, with a certainty of realization which imparted such a fervour of faith to his life and his words. 'The Vision' is an autobiographical chapter of the deepest interest. It is the progress of a soul towards the discovery that 'Man, as a creation, represents the Creator,' and alone of all creatures can 'realize in his individual spirit a union with a Spirit that is everywhere.' Scarcely less interesting are the references to the beggar of the Baül sect who was singing a song that 'spoke of an intense yearning of the heart for the divine which is in Man and not in the temple, or scepticism, or scriptures, in images and symbols.' An appendix by Professor Sen gives a fuller account of this extraordinary sect. Dr. Tagore cannot give the name of religion to that merging of the personal self in an impersonal entity towards which some in India strive to attain. Faith is helped on all sides by arts, literature, and other things to approach Him in whose image we are made. Life has four stages. It begins with an education which teaches the mind to keep within its natural limits; then follows the state of the householder, which becomes a centre of welfare for all the world. Then the bonds to the world are loosened by the decline of bodily powers, until 'the emancipated soul steps out of all bonds to face the Supreme Soul.' It is a view of life which is full of interest, and its approach towards the Christian view is not the least encouraging feature of a remarkable volume.

A Study of Conversion. By L. Wyatt Long. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Professor Starbuck's *Psychology of Conversion* started the modern investigation of this subject in the American School at the end of the last century, and William James made it a popular subject by his famous *Varieties of Religious Experience*. Mr. Long regards the conversion process as a movement in the human spirit towards the expression of what it believes to be the divine plan in the creation of character. He begins with 'The Influences in Childhood.' Children as a rule are sensitive to suggestions of personal idealism, and it is often easy to impress them by religious appeals. This method is usually neglected, under the impression that it is dangerous to disturb children's emotions. The method of instruction is therefore relied on, but Mr. Long holds that the devotional or emotional aspect of religious education seems to be much more important than simple instruction. The normal conversion process, and variations in it, are shown by some striking examples, and the chapters on 'Religious Phobias' bring out the extreme misery and 'storm and stress' emotion on the pre-crisis phase of the conversion process in such a case as that of Sundar Singh. In Luther we note the intense effort

to get rid of the inhibiting effect of fear. The realization of God's love came to him through a flood of new meaning in St. Paul's teaching. Bunyan's fear-complex raged with violence for many years. St. Teresa had no fear-complex; her conversion seems to have developed along the ideal of the Vision of God. The crisis in the conversion process is the moment of decision. Instantaneous conversions were frequent in the Evangelical Revival, and made a profound impression on the religious thought of the time. Mr. Long thinks that the method of winning decision through mass-suggestion has become difficult under modern conditions. 'It may be a temporary weakness, but meanwhile another plan should be found. For without decision religion becomes inept. The attitude of recognition without acceptance is delusive. Decision sets free creative energy which is lost without decision.' Insistence on decision has produced some of the greatest saints in all sections of the Church, and 'the present tendency to smooth down the conversion-process by purely educational methods is likely to discourage the decision-crisis in conversion.' This is a book with a real message, and it is put in a way that is really impressive.

God and the Universe. Edited by J. Lewis May. (John Lane. 3s. 6d.)

In this symposium three skilled writers set forth anew the Christian idea, and furnish an answer to doubts that disturb many thoughtful minds. The three contributors are 'united in the faith that Christ lives, and that no advance of science, no addition to human knowledge in whatsoever direction pursued, can avail to destroy His message, or quench the sacred hope which it conveys.' In his Introduction, Mr. May expresses his conviction that the clash between the material and the spiritual is yet to come. The Master of the Temple's contribution to the volume is one of the deepest interest. The wonders of the new universe almost take our breath away, but Mr. Carpenter is well advised in calling attention to the situation some sixty years ago, which was graver than that of to-day. He builds his superstructure on belief in Christ, as St. John's Gospel does. He suggests that 'the life of Christ has in it the essential quality of the life of mankind in the world, and that in His Cross all the problems that arise in history, or even in astronomy, are sharpened to a single point,' where the only solution of those problems is to be found. Christian theism is enormously enriched by modern science. It is so modest, so willing to stick to its own last, that not even the most timid of believers in religion need be afraid of it. Mr. D'Arcy, writing as a Jesuit, knows of no facts which run counter to the belief of his Church. He refuses to 'follow Mr. George Moore and his authorities in their fantasies about the survival of Jesus Christ.' Other religions 'lisp and stammer about immortal love and destiny, and make a forecast of the divine intercourse with man.' There is no story which can approach in its finality and perfection that of the Incarnation and the Cross. Dr. Bertram

Woolf writes as a Free Churchman on 'The Experimental Approach to Religion.' There is much in science that is clearly harmonious with the faith in a promise-keeping God, a God concerned with man who makes things work together for good. Nothing in science can deny the validity of such a faith. 'The decisions given by science may help us to understand better the exact meaning of our religious experience of, and faith in, Christ; but no such decision can either give or take away the experience itself.'

The symposium is one of real value, and profoundly interesting as well.

Social Substance of Religion. By Gerald Heard. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Heard seeks to discover how far certain psychological generalizations fit the outline of history and pre-history. He ascribes the acute self-consciousness and conflict in the individual to the division between a subjective and an objective mind, and seeks to discover how man's psychic dichotomy may be re-fused into a single state. He traces man's conflict to self-consciousness due to the lack of a group in which it may lose itself. This Christianity supplied. 'The real gospel is to have direct and intense experience of eternal life.' It was possessed by an overwhelming desire to be saved together. 'The primitive gossellers' were saving themselves from the loneliness, the futility, the hopeless miscarriage and blind procedure of 'a fully conscious unbelieving individual.' The Sermon on the Mount is 'completely impossible without the Charistic spirit.' The core of the gospel is a charity 'so intense that it is more than self-forgetful, it is more even than self-destructive, it takes the self and expands it over a whole community, and (this is the step beyond) opens it out so that it can embrace, and be embraced by the whole of life.' The living cell divides, 'instead of individuals is found the new creation, the beloved community.' Mr. Heard describes George Fox's endeavour to re-create the love religion, and for a generation it seemed that the Friends were the seed from which a fundamental revival of the spirit of religion might spring. By and by they withered. There is only one problem before the world, that is to create and sustain charitism. 'Here is the door passing through which the individual returns to society. Society becomes the race, the race is united with life, and life is one with the universe.' That is really the second commandment. To love our neighbour as ourself is the way to create a happy individual and a Christlike world.

The Faith of a Christian. By J. C. Mantripp. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s.)

The thirty-first Hartley Lecture is sure of a warm welcome. The faith of a Christian begins with a sense of personal fellowship with God in Christ, and looks onward to a Kingdom in which Christ is King, with His heart's desire utterly accomplished. The relation of

such a faith is weighed, but Christianity is more than a creed ; it is a life. The contents of the Christian faith are clearly shown. Its environment in the material world is set forth, and its consummation is found in its victory in this world and the world to come. That outline is filled out in a way that is singularly clear and impressive. It is the work of a true thinker who is awake to the evils and wrongs of the world, and finds in Christ's leadership the way to make earth a paradise. 'Our faith as Christians makes it obligatory that our work on earth is a faithful endeavour to get God's design accomplished.' There is evidence of wide and careful reading on every page, and this adds greatly to the interest of the lecture.

Immortality: The Christian View. By Alexander Nairne, D.D.
(Cambridge University Press. 1s.)

This lecture was delivered to churchmen at Norwich last February. Dr. Nairne says 'God is the God of the living ; all live unto Him,' begins and consummates the Christian view. He quotes Emily Brontë's 'Last Lines.' Christians may add, but 'must not abstract from her full flood of faith, and what they add of detail must be reverent and restrained, self-mortifying : If any would save his soul . . . he must lose it, for the Saviour's sake and His good tidings.' All life is different since the Son of God was born and died, and, dying, lives, man in God. Trust is now assured, and affects even where it is not confessed. Christ's sojourn in the world is 'the one unfathomable ocean of our trust, the Christian view of immortality,' and the Gospel of St. John is the incomparable interpretation of that sojourn of the Word. 'What certainty of immortality can be added to that : Life in God ; that one Man, the Master, our Lord and God ; we and our friends so frail and sinful, yet His disciples, with Him, within the Godhead. There, in that communion of saints, is the true and perfect resurrection and life, here and now, continually renewed as generation passes into generation, active, rejoicing, sorrowing, passing away, all living in God, already passed out of death into life.' Dr. Nairne shows that 'secular philosophers are confluent with orthodox divinity to-day. Tennyson the poet, F. H. Bradley the metaphysician, join hands with Hort for the interpretation of St. John.' Quotations from Bradley and from Shelley's 'Sensitive Plant' support this statement, and bear out St. John's teaching that 'death is lost in life.' It is a very suggestive lecture.

The Quest for Certainty: A Study in the Relations of Knowledge and Action. By John Dewey. Gifford Lectures, 1929. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Professor Dewey is one of the best known of American thinkers, and his selection as Gifford lecturer was a happy one. He has chosen a theme that illustrates the main contention of his system of thought, and pursued it with the vigour of exposition we expect from him. In

a word, it is this. The Greeks divided thought and action. In the world of intellect they sought a certainty the changing conditions of actual life failed to afford. Others sought religious certainty in the same separation of the twin sides of man's nature. Out of this division spring all our philosophical woes, and many others too, according to Professor Dewey. He traces out in detail the story of the great division, and, having expounded his own view that the salvation of philosophy will come by treating all knowledge as functional, he claims that this is the real 'Copernican revolution,' not that of Kant, so far as philosophy is concerned. The religious aspect of all this, an aspect that has been prominent in most Gifford lectures, is rather unimpressive. The essence of religion is ideals. Professor Dewey's philosophy is the apotheosis of the actual. Of course, he is not the lauder of all that is; rather does he speak of 'acceptance of the ideally good as the to-be-realized possibilities of existence.' But if these possibilities depend on no factors outside human activities, they afford no foothold for any genuine religious faith. Professor Dewey does not assert that they do not, but his outlook is not chargeable with other-worldliness, at any rate. The religious creed of these pages, such as it is, is distinctly pallid. Yet it is becoming more than ever certain that philosophy must find room for the religious standpoint. Naturalism and materialism, having had every possible chance, have failed. Thinkers like Whitehead are seeking a way of expressing the point of view of art and religion in a synoptic view of reality. A philosophy that cannot do this has no prospect of survival. With much of the book, there need be no dispute, especially by the pragmatically minded, but it abandons, not satisfies, the quest for certainty, not less surely than did Comte, by presuming that such a quest can ever remain satisfied with such values as are offered here. Knowledge and action are not to be put asunder, but it still remains that philosophy can endure only as seeing the invisible.

Plain Thoughts on Great Subjects. By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D. (Allenson. 5s.)

The Rev. Leslie S. Peake has gathered together in this volume some of his father's expositions of fundamental Christian truths. They are admirably lucid and well-balanced discussions of such subjects as The Atonement, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, The Hope of Immortality, and The Problem of Unanswered Prayer. The Reunion of the Christian Churches, Evangelism and the Intellectual Influences of the Age, Our Responsibility to Inferior Races, and other matters of wide general interest are discussed with a broad scholarly outlook. The five expositions on misunderstood passages of Scripture are not the least valuable papers in a richly suggestive volume.

The Hellenistic Elements in Christianity. By A. Aal, Ph.D. (University of London Press. 3s. 6d.)

In these three thoughtful lectures, Dr. Aal, Professor of Philosophy

in the University of Oslo, traces the influence of Greek philosophy on the theology of Christianity. He is not concerned with the mystery cults in their relation to sacraments, or with the social or institutional aspects of early Christian life. He regards the work of Jesus as 'without a trace of anything that witnesses to a scheme of organization,' while in the teaching of Jesus he discovers no Hellenism, but only Oriental—especially Persian—notions which entered into His eschatological and apocalyptic thought. Yet the Judaism of the Mediterranean lands from the days of Alexander had been powerfully affected by Hellenism, and in the works of Philo of Alexandria the fusion of the two elements was complete. Paul freed Christianity from its nationalistic fetters, while his education at Tarsus gave a universalism to his intellectual outlook. He absorbed the Logos-metaphysic, traces of which are to be seen in the language of 2 Corinthians and Colossians, the main development being in the Fourth Gospel. By the second century, Christian theology was in alliance with Greek philosophy, as is proved by the writings of the Apologists and the teaching of Clement of Alexandria, to whom Christ was the Logos, or Reason, that pervaded the universe—a phase of thought further developed by Origen and the Neo-Platonism of the third century. This summary of the argument of the lectures prepares the reader for the conclusion that the Christian religion was pre-eminently indebted to Greek thought, which contributed ideas such as the Jews did not and could not give. This is doubtless true; but in his enthusiasm for the Hellenistic elements of Christianity the lecturer needlessly averts his gaze from the Judaic element, which cannot be ignored in any complete analysis. Though the idea of an elect nation may be what the lecturer calls 'an atrocious anachronism,' yet the debt to Judaism remains, and the ethic of Christianity can never be dissociated from its source in that system of morality of which the gospel of Jesus was the consummation.

Some Religious Elements in English Literature. By Rose Macaulay. (Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.)

In *Beowulf*, written soon after the Christian conversion of England, Wyrd, the fate-goddess, becomes a shadowy and subordinate power. The idea of an inexorable destiny is loosened by an overruling Lord. For nearly eighty years, as Mr. Stopford Brooke says, the old battle-songs were sung side by side with the Christian hymns, the saga of the English heroes with the saga of Christ. With the coming of Augustine the stream of Christian literature began to flow in southern England. In the ninth century, Alfred set the rivers of Latin scholarship, history, philosophy, and religion flowing into Wessex in the English speech. The revival of monastic learning and letters in the twelfth century kept this country from complete intellectual torpor, and prepared it for the literary ferment of the next century, in which France led the way. The struggle between secularism and religion entered into a fresh phase with the Renaissance. England became

flooded with controversial tracts on doctrine and Church discipline. Miss Macaulay deals with the phase in her interesting chapter on 'Humanism and the Churches.' After this period the seventeenth century in England heard theological thunders from many pulpits. Pepys 'heard a young man play the fool upon the doctrine of Purgatory' in St. Margaret's. The eighteenth-century writers in verse and prose show that the age in the main was one of 'general and complacent faith in a religion both natural and revealed.' Theological controversy raged, not only among the clergy and philosophers, but also among men of letters, who threw themselves into the Bangorian and anti-Deist controversies. Christian serenity 'did not exist in the Methodist movement, that noisy *enfant terrible* that came charging, with hymns and extempore prayers, against the entrenchments of the Anglican Church. A remarkable movement.' Miss Macaulay quotes Leslie Stephen's verdict that 'Wesleyanism is, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the century,' and refers to both the Wesleys as men of education, but she has no sympathy with emotional religious revivals, and says 'the very thought of Methodism made men of culture shudder.' The fact is that she has no real conception of the state of society in this country, the drunkenness, the utter religious indifference, which the Evangelical Revival had to face; nor of the apathy of the Churches when Wesley 'blew his trumpet and awoke them that slept.' The awakening which followed inevitably produced profound emotion. That was a sure token of the mighty change which followed conviction of evil living, and its genuineness was attested by multitudes who were renewed and hallowed by divine grace.

Some Epworth Press publications are: *The Theology of Karl Barth*. By J. Arundel Chapman, M.A., B.D. (1s., 2s.). This is a short introduction to Barth's theology by one who acknowledges his spiritual debt to it, and adds some wise and helpful criticism to his exposition. The stress which Barth 'lays on the otherness, transcendence, and priority of God is badly needed by an age which has been in danger of identifying God with the universe in what is finally an all-levelling immanence, or equating Him with the highest elements in the human spirit. Barth deals summarily with the semi-divinity which so much modern thought has ascribed to man.' He and Brunner lay stress on the Bible and the uniqueness of its teaching in the Old as well as the New Testament. Barth's theology is also built on 'the need and promise of Christian preaching.' His thought is that of one subdued and haunted by the feeling that he has to stand up to declare to lost men and women the Saving Word of God, that he possesses the secret which they must be told.' There is no small book which gives such an insight into Barthianism as this.—*On Second Thoughts, or Reconsiderations of Religion*, by Henry Bett, M.A. (2s.), deals with such subjects as Authority, Emotion, Repentance, Unity, Wonder, History, and Paradox in a way so lucid and instructive that it will be of real value to those who welcome new light on fundamental

questions. They get quickly to the heart of their subjects, and leave a clear and distinct impression on the mind. They are pleasant to read, and instructive and helpful also.—*Swanwick at Prayer*, by William G. Findlay, M.A. (1s.), gives a series of acts of meditative worship which will tune hearts and minds to devotion. There is freshness and beauty in all the little studies.—*In Defence of the Christian Sunday*, by C. Penney Hunt, B.A. (6d.), is powerful and well timed. Its plea for the family pew, and the primary necessity of arranging all our home and church affairs that the claims of public worship and the sacrament of the Word may become the first concern of the Church, must be taken to heart if the world is to be impressed and won for Christ.—*The Companion of the Lonely*, by J. T. Hodgson (6d., 1s., 2s. 6d.), is a broadcast talk with lonely people who are to be found everywhere among young and old, rich and poor. 'Christ is the Unseen Comrade! The Invisible Companion. He alone can satisfy the loneliness and the hunger of the human heart.'—*The Transforming Experience*. By H. G. Tunncliffe, B.A. (1s. 6d., 2s. 6d.) The spiritual outlook of men and women whose lives have been transformed by their religion is captured in these chapters. The joy, the power, the deliverance brought by the knowledge of Jesus as a Saviour and Friend, are clearly shown by some beautiful examples, and the transmission of the experience is the running-over of the cup.

Religion or Faith. By Walter Lowrie. (Elliot Stock. 6s.) Mr. Lowrie's position is not easy to describe, but we agree with him that what is lacking to-day is 'a clear faith in the infinite and the transcendental.' He has many criticisms both of Protestants and Catholics, and confesses that the whole colour and substance of his book is due to the triumphant school of theology in modern Germany, especially to Barth and other members of the 'School of Crisis.'—*The Old Testament*. (Oxford University Press. Four vols. 2s. each.) These are neat volumes which slip easily into a bag or a pocket, and will make the Revised Version a welcome companion on a railway journey or a holiday stroll. The navy-blue covers, the clear type, and thin paper add to the pleasure with which one welcomes this addition to the *World's Classics*. The marginal notes are included. Vol. i. contains the Pentateuch; vol. ii., Joshua to 1 Chronicles; vol. iii., 2 Chronicles to Canticles; vol. iv., Isaiah to Malachi.—*God's Word to Women*. This is a third edition of Dr. Katharine Bushnell's Bible studies on 'Woman's Place in the Divine Economy' (Pasadena, 60 cents). The Bible passages on the subject are discussed in a thought-provoking way, and the call of women to preach the gospel is vigorously upheld.—*The Bible Picture Book*, by Muriel J. Chalmers. (Nelson & Sons, 10s. 6d.), has a hundred full-page coloured pictures and a page of description opposite each. The pictures are a great success, and so is the text. The sketch of Abraham's call gives a vivid glimpse of Ur, and uses the Koran legend of his farewell to the moon-God worship with happy effect. It is certainly a book that will make children love the Bible, and set to work reading it for themselves.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Millicent Garrett Fawcett. By Ray Strachey. (John Murray, 15s.)

DAME MILLICENT wished, if any Life of herself was written, that her friend and fellow worker, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, should undertake it. She has produced a volume of no ordinary interest. It is the biography of a woman of high ability who gave forty years to secure female suffrage, and was betrayed into no excesses amid the disappointments and delays which led many women to lawless and violent deeds. She sprang from a strong East Anglian stock, where there was always stir, movement, and laughter among the ten brothers and sisters. Her sister Elizabeth became a medical pioneer who did much to open the profession to women. Millicent married Henry Fawcett, who never saw her face but learned to lean upon her sound judgement, and found her more than eyes to him both at Cambridge and in London. That part of this biography is a lovely idyll. Fawcett did not live to see their daughter placed above the Senior Wrangler in 1880. 'Philippa worked neither too much nor too little, and because she was interested rather than for any other reason.' Her triumph was no small vindication of woman's right to a place in the government of the country. Mrs. Fawcett herself was a powerful speaker and a fearless champion of woman's rights. She made careful notes for her speeches, and then turned over the subject as she sat doing her needlework. 'No one knows,' she said, 'whether they can speak or not till they try. I believe every one *can* speak who has got anything to say. Of course, they don't like it, but no more do I.' Many glimpses are given of politicians who helped or hindered the course on which she had set her heart. She speaks of one suffrage deputation when Mr. Asquith received them in his most hostile mood. 'It was our lot to taste the insolence of office and the proud man's contumely.' It is interesting to note that her view of Lloyd George was enthusiastic. She felt in the Coalition days that he had 'saved the country, and that his name will go down to history as that of a great War Minister, worthy to be set by the side of Chatham and Pitt.' Mrs. Fawcett dissociated herself entirely from the militant tactics, and strongly condemned the use of physical violence in political propaganda. Her firm stand against the women pacifists in the International Women's Suffrage Union bore high witness to her courage, her patriotism, and her wisdom in bending all the strength of the Union 'to sustain the vital forces of the nation.' Their service in wartime made it impossible indeed to resist their claim to the vote. The account of her last years, when she gained more freedom and leisure, is a delightful part of the Life. She was able to indulge her love of music with a good conscience; developed a real taste for

meetings and lectures at which she had not to speak ; read many solid books, as well as her favourite poets ; and went fairly often to church. 'Her fundamental beliefs had not greatly altered, but as she grew older she seemed to find more comfort in the forms of religion, and she particularly enjoyed the services and the sermons at the Temple Church.' She was a great walker still, going faster than was safe in her old age and laughing at remonstrance. One afternoon, as she sat reading by the fire, her sister Agnes came in from some expedition. She did not seem disposed to talk at first, but suddenly said, 'Milly, I think I ought to tell you that I was knocked over by a taxi-cab just now.' 'Oh, were you?' her sister answered, looking carefully at her to see that she was not hurt ; 'well, since you were, I'd better tell you that I was knocked down by a taxi-cab too last week. I didn't mean to say anything about it.' 'That was all they said. Both were guilty ; neither had the right to scold the other, so they left it at that ; if it had not been that they could neither of them resist telling the story to Philippa, no one would ever have known.'

The Grass Roof. By Younghill Kang. (Scribners. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Kang was born in a grass-roofed village in Korea in 1908, and gives an idyllic picture of his boyhood and his training in Confucian lore and Korean customs by his poet uncles. At the age of twelve, after a time at Seoul, he went to a Japanese school in Tokyo, where he spent four years. He had become intensely anxious to gain Western culture, and for two years studied English and taught in a missionary school. His share in the Korean revolt against Japanese rule in 1919 led him to spend a year in jail, but in 1920 he managed to get to America. After graduating at Harvard, he wrote articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and in 1929 became lecturer on comparative literature in the English Department of New York University. The early stages of this pilgrimage make a unique record, and one of much charm. The fierce Korean patriotism ; the relation of the sexes ; the life of his own village and his kindred, with his crazy poet uncle, his grandfather, who made his living by writing poetry and practising divination, and his father, who was the slave of the household and had to do everything, from roofing the long house every year with grass to making the children's shoes. No one else turned a hand. His cousin, who shared his longings for release but had to marry an unwelcome husband, and the Princess Immortality, the girl whom he met on his return from Tokyo and who became his ideal lady, all these form a charming circle, and the missionary teachers are conspicuous figures in the later chapters of a book that makes Korea stand vividly before one's eyes, with its daily life and its chafing against the lordship of Japan. The account of student life in Seoul and Tokyo, with his own heroic struggle, is deeply interesting, and the contrast between the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Korean is pointed out in a striking way.

Memories of a Long Life. By the late Lord Rathereedan (Captain Cecil Norton, M.P.) (John Lane. 10s. 6d.)

This is a book crowded with anecdotes which range over a long and active life of eighty years. Lord Rathereedan felt certain about a dozen events which took place before he was three years and three months old. One was the death of the donkey on which he had been carried in a saddle like a howdah; the other was an Irish funeral where the women uncovered their heads to talk to his nurse till her principal friend said, 'Oh, here comes the corpse; we must be going on.' Then the wailing was renewed with added vigour. The Irish peasant usually carried a knife and a tinder-box, matches being scarce. Many families had porridge and milk for their morning and evening meal, with potatoes and milk or buttermilk at midday; a herring or some bacon occasionally. A travelling circus was a great excitement, and the boy once confidently thrust his head into the lion's den for a friendly caress, to be dragged away in great anger by his nurse. A lady lion-tamer dressed as a queen was killed by the lion when the performance began. He went to school in Paris when drinking-water was purchased at a sou per bucket from a hawker, and oil lamps were slung across the streets. He returned to England in 1863 or 1864, when the Haymarket, to which he was taken one night by a school friend, was a perfect pandemonium. Half the men and women were more or less drunk, and the women kept assaulting the men and bashing in their high hats. A woman was rarely seen in London either in the streets or in an office. The sons of the majority of our landed proprietors had scanty education prior to 1850. After he left Sandhurst, and before joining the 5th Royal Irish Lancers in India, he spent some weeks in London. The proprietor of the house where he lodged was about eighty, and as a lad had often seen his father shoot snipe on the ground round about what is now Belgrave Square, Pimlico. When his regiment returned to England, he saw a strange apparition of a woman in bridal dress who glided past the mess-room window. The veterinary surgeon died at the time, and his wife, who had died in giving birth to her first child, had thus appeared. A few months after his marriage, Mr. Norton decided to take to politics, and won a seat in 1892 for West Newington (now Central Southwark). He has many stories about famous members. In 1910 he became Assistant Postmaster-General, and in 1916 took his seat in the House of Lords. He visited Germany in 1922 to report on the social and economic condition. The disappearance of militarism was most remarkable, and the ruin of the middle classes was pathetic. In the devastated areas of France the recuperative power of the people was remarkable. The *Memories* are certainly amusing and vivid.

How Europe Grew. By F. J. Adkins. (Williams & Norgate. 25s.)

This notable volume represents the study and teaching of more than

thirty years. It is animated by the spirit of Sir J. R. Seeley, under whom Mr. Adkins worked at Cambridge, and who made him see that history should be scientific in its methods and have a practical object. It should not merely light up the past, but should also modify a reader's view of the present and his forecast of the future. Europe is not an isolated continent, for it is really not separated from Asia at all. We cannot therefore begin the study of Europe within its own boundaries. Water is the great carrier, and the Nile runs through human history, and Egypt is 'the ever-increasing storehouse to which the great ones of the earth come in triumph; but from which they do not depart unchanged.' The worship of the One God was the great contribution of the Hebrews to the human heritage, whilst the Greek communities brought a note of youth and freshness, of freedom and independence, not found among the river peoples of the Nile and Euphrates, or the Chosen People of Palestine. Mr. Adkins's study of Roman growth and decay is of special interest. He then considers the conditions under which Christianity took root. Paul emphasized the individual note. His great task was the saving of man's immortal soul. Under him Christianity became 'more and more of an individual quest after salvation, and less and less of a social institution, as it had been at the beginning.' Each phase of the history of the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, the city-states, the peasants and manors, is traced in a way that is really illuminating. Then followed the age of discovery, of trade and commerce, and the Hundred Years of Wars of Religion, 1547-1648. Spain and Portugal added new continents to the knowledge of the world, and our own colonial history is described with the world history up to the Great War, during which all the four empires of Europe disappeared. The post-war tendency seems to be towards a new collectivism, with the curbing of the individual and of profit. The spirit of organization and foresight in the public interest is increasing. We have entered an age of consolidation. 'Individualism has been starving individuality.' The man of the future will secure leisure by extending the professional spirit to all forms of human activity, and will be learning to use his leisure worthily.

Speeches on Foreign Affairs. By Sir Edward Grey. Selected, with an Introduction, by Paul Knaplund, Ph.D. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

The Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin has made this selection from Lord Grey of Fallodon's speeches to facilitate inquiry into the international situation that immediately preceded the outbreak of war in 1914. His Introduction gives a brief outline of Lord Grey's birth, heredity, and environment. The fact that he was so 'English' made his countrymen feel that their foreign affairs rested in safe hands. It was an irony of fate that a man whose chief delights are the quiet pleasures of the country-side, a man of peace, had to appeal to the arbitrament of war. The selection opens with

the speech on the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, which Sir Edward welcomed, not only as a working model for other cases, but for its great possibilities for keeping us in contact with France, with a growth of friendly relations to the advantage of both countries. Other speeches deal with Foreign Policy and Fiscal Reform, with the Anglo-Russian Convention, the Reduction of Armaments, Anglo-German Naval Rivalry, Great Britain and Germany, and kindred questions. The historic speech of August 3, 1914, bravely faced the situation. Sir Edward felt that we were going to suffer terribly, whether we were in the war or stood aside. The 'most awful responsibility' rested upon the Government as to its advice to the House of Commons, but Sir Edward felt assured that when the magnitude of the impending dangers was realized the Government would be supported by the determination, the resolution, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country. The speeches give an impressive picture of the workings of a master-mind in a time of unequalled peril and perplexity.

Society at War, 1914-16. By Caroline L. Playne. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Miss Playne had studied the trend of international events for many years before the Great War, and when it began she collected all the material she met with on the state of men's minds under its feverish stress and excitement. She has now gathered it together under such groups as 'Falling In'; The Day of Idealism; The Citizens'; the Women's; the Statesman's War; The Failure of the Clerics, &c. She thinks there was no better interpreter of the prevailing social psychology than Mr. Massingham, the editor of the *Nation*, and she used its weekly issues as way-marks. The spirit which accepted the war in 1914 she regards as 'in truth suicidal'; she asks also, 'Why did not the war stop at the point reached in December 1916, seeing that the Allies' original aims had been reached to all true intents and to all just purposes?' That question is followed by another: 'What might have been saved to men, to the world, if peace had been obtained before the later phases of fighting became overwhelming, before hurricanes of rage wrought the direst destruction?' The answer most of us would give would be that the ends for which the Allies had made such terrible sacrifice had not been gained in December 1916, and the horrors that followed were inevitable. Those who cannot accept Miss Playne's view will yet turn her pages with beating hearts, for the deadly drama unfolds again before our eyes. We cannot accept her position at many points. 'Men and women alike were incapable of seeing things whole or meeting them sanely. The souls of women were as much possessed by passion as the souls of men.' That is not our reading of the national temper. It was really a fixed determination to carry on, what they regarded as a struggle wantonly forced upon them, till the world was free from a tyranny that would have blighted the whole life of men.

Men and Forces of Our Time. By Valeriu Marcu. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Harrap & Co. 7s. 6d.)

Biography, the writer claims, is full of tender affection because it embodies a life, and all existence is melodramatic. 'Disclosing personality, it acts as a stimulus, brings consolation, provides repose. To the youth it reveals possibilities, like a harbour in which hundreds of ships and thousands of men are eagerly awaiting departure. That is the claim of a striking illustration, and prepares for ten studies, which begin with Clemenceau, Levin, Foch, and include Kemal Pasha, Benedetto Croce, and G. K. Chesterton. Clemenceau trumpeted his thoughts; he was too proud, too stubborn, too self-confident, too self-satisfied to lie. His conduct of the war was a marvellous chapter of political strategy, and he regarded the peace as an opportunity for personal vengeance. His philosophy was 'Vae victis.' In the Russian medley Lenin exerted an educational and attractive influence, like a strict judge who is immune to moods and anxieties. He was at one and the same time a tranquil scientist and a clamorous monk volleying curses. 'No other shaper of events was so free from obstinacy nor was any so little surprised at his own victory, at the sudden leap from powerlessness to power.' Foch kneeled before the offensive, and his doctrine of Napoleonic military leadership triumphed. Croce looks to the individual as the source of power, the central energy, the perennial object of history. He finds the wealth of the world in its 'reflective human beings,' who are 'the true gold-reserves of the nation.' 'Chesterton, being a serious thinker, plays with folly, from very delight in the forms of being. He defends many things which are commonly despised, without insisting that he has an opinion of his own, but he usually has one, for all that. . . . He strays mechanically in the forsaken garden of lost things, and rekindles extinct stars, using them to illuminate forgotten plains.' Hans Delbrück and Georges Sorel are other figures round which the light plays in this volume. Every sketch drawn by this young Rumanian is suggestive and revealing.

Rambles in Dorset. By J. H. Wade, M.A. (Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d.)

These rambles radiate from different centres whence Mr. Wade made his own explorations. He describes the towns and villages as he saw them, and brings out the historical associations in a way that will add greatly to the interest of a tourist. The end-paper map is very clear and full; the photographs of churches, towns, and picturesque villages are well chosen and well produced. William Barnes and Thomas Hardy have their due share in the record, and we feel the charm of the large expanses of heathland and the exhilarating rambles along the breezy summits of the downs. Dorchester is surrounded by splendid avenues, and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* has given it a sure place in our literature. Purbeck sends out 70,000 tons of its hard, fine-grained sandstone every year from its quarries. Sherborne

and Wimborne have their noble abbeys; Bere Regis church has its fine flamboyant roof, the gift of Cardinal Morton, who was born in the parish, at Milborne. One of its bosses shows the red rose of Lancaster. Shaftesbury lies 700 feet above the sea, and King Alfred founded a nunnery there for his daughter Ælgyva. Mr. Wade writes brightly, and does not forget that John Wesley's grandfather was minister of the stately church of Winterborne Whitchurch, set in a graveyard dark with yews, and fragrant in summer with syringa blossom.

Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century.
By C. R. Cheney. (Manchester University Press. 10s.6d.)

Our knowledge of episcopal visitation in the thirteenth century is extensive but fragmentary. The canon law gives scraps of information, but provides no single set of authoritative pronouncements. The bishops' registers hardly ever give a full record of a visitation process. The world had invaded the cloister, and even the new Orders were seriously tainted with simony, luxury, and overmuch care for mundane things. Innocent III attempted a great reform, but his successor had to face the same problems. The papacy had to look to diocesan visitation as a constant, if subsidiary, instrument in the work of monastic reform. The bishop usually sent notice of his proposed visit. He was conducted to the chapter-house, where a sermon was preached before the monks were examined and corrections and penances were enjoined. The charge for the bishop's expenses was a heavy burden on some poor priories, and hospitality was usually confined to one day and one night. Those who bore the bishop's orders for correction were sometimes ill-treated and there were not a few acts of violence. The journal of Archbishop Rigaud of Rouen shows how even an exemplary prelate was hindered by passive unspirituality in the cloister. Stubbornness mastered the strongest disciplinarian when it came to questions of the little self-indulgences of the religious, their private stores, their meat for meals. But the journal shows how certain offences were reduced by his zeal and vigilance. 'The archbishop could not make religion flourish: he could prevent its worse decay.' The study throws much light on the monastic life of the thirteenth century.

Diary of a Young Civil Servant in Westminster, 1914-15. By Victor Smith. Vol. I. (Glaisler. 5s.)

This is a daily record of life in the Great War from July 31, 1914, to November 11, 1915. Its interest lies in its details. The prices of food, the talk overheard in trains and refreshment-rooms, the Zeppelin attacks, the fragments of history, all make us live through the terrible months. The young civil servant's church-going, his interest in the Congregational minister's sermons, and the outspoken criticisms, give life to the record, and we get some glimpses of Arthur Henderson at Lyons and the Express Dairy with Ramsay MacDonald and other friends. It is a real picture of events, and one that many will be glad to possess.

GENERAL

The Phenomenology of Mind. By J. W. F. Hegel. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. B. Baillie. Second Edition, revised and corrected throughout. (Allen & Unwin. 25s.)

THIS is an important addition to the Library of Philosophy edited by Professor Muirhead, which entered last year on its fifth decade in a more international phase, which gives prominence to that 'Intellectual Co-operation which is one of the most significant objects of the League of Nations and kindred organizations.' Professor Joachim of Oxford, Dr. Lassen of Berlin, and Dr. Turner of Liverpool have given valuable help to the translator, and his Introduction brings out the history and scope of the *Phenomenology* as the firstfruit of Hegel's intellectual maturity. It appeared in 1807, when he was thirty-seven, and he was revising it with a view to a second edition when he died in 1831. His work is unique in the history of philosophy. It covers the whole range of human experience, more particularly in western Europe. 'So exhaustive an analysis of the life-history of the human spirit, so sustained an effort to reduce its varied and involved forms of expression to their simple leading principles, and to express those controlling ideas in an orderly, connected system, had certainly never before been compressed within the compass of a single treatise.' Hegel regards the Absolute Spirit, or God, as making its own the stupendous labour of the world's history; it infuses the component parts with spiritual significance, embodies itself in human form, and, in the process, at once eternal and in time, reconciles the world to itself and itself to the world. Hegel regarded his epoch as a birth-time, and a period of transition. 'The spirit of man has broken with the old order of things hitherto prevailing, and with the old ways of thinking, and is in the mind to let them all sink into the depths of the past and to set about its own transformation.' The new world could scarcely realize itself, and Hegel sought to conduct the individual mind from its unscientific standpoint to that of science, so that the incomplete individual mind might find a place in the life of the universal individual. Mind prepares the element of true knowledge for itself in the course of its phenomenology. The opposition between being and knowing is no longer involved, but the moments of mind are developed into an organically connected whole. Hegel begins with consciousness, which becomes 'certain of itself in its object.' With self-consciousness we pass into relation to nature, to other selves, and to the Ultimate Being of the world. That means it has come outside itself. It is unhappy because it craves complete consciousness of self and does not at first attain freedom. Reason seeks to become conscious of its own nature, and Hegel traces its development with criticism of the one-sided idealism of his predecessors. He shows how

rational experience is realized by observation. Mind becomes aware of itself as in conscious unity with its object by looking on, so to say. From this sphere of knowledge and science we pass to that of rational action and practice. That leads to the moral view of the world, until we reach the section on religion, where the appearance of Absolute Spirit is found necessary to realize and sustain the fullness of meaning which finite spirit possesses. Natural religion is at the level of consciousness; revealed religion is at the level of reason and spirit. The goal of the process of phenomenology is the revelation of the depth of spiritual life. Science and history together 'form at once the recollection and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit, the reality, the truth, the certainty of its throne, without which it were lifeless, solitary, and alone. Only

The chalice of this realm of spirits
Foams forth to God His own Infinitude.'

It is impossible to speak too highly of the limpid translation, and the editorial aids which light up this famous philosophical treatise.

Mind and Matter. By G. F. Stout, LL.D., D.Lit. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.)

This is the first of two volumes which Professor Stout bases on his Gifford Lectures, delivered in the University of Edinburgh in 1919 and 1921. He confines himself in the present book to an examination of those aspects of ordinary experience involved in the knowledge of the physical world, of the self, and of mind other than our own; the treatment of more ultimate problems will follow in a later volume on *God and Nature*, which is to deal with ethical and religious experience. This volume is divided into four parts: The Animism of Common Sense; The Psycho-Physical Problem; Knowledge of Practical Existence—Historical and Critical; Knowledge of Physical Existence—Positive View. By the 'Animism of Common Sense,' Professor Stout means the tendency to find mind in Nature generally, and not only in the individual minds of men and animals. The causal animism of common sense is held against Hume's refutation of it, which is based on arbitrary, obscure, and discredited assumptions. Our own activity is united with a continuous context of active tendencies modifying, reinforcing, and resisting each other. The universal mind transcending the limiting conditions of finite existence is not less mind, but the more so, because it is incomprehensibly greater and more perfect than our own. Animism denies that matter can have a separate being and nature of its own, which is in any manner or degree independent of the mind which creates it. 'Hence if the doctrine of a creative mind is right, the animistic view of Nature is fundamentally valid.' Professor Stout argues that materialism is incompatible with the general order of Nature. Metaphysical materialism really aggravates the fundamental incoherence of scientific materialism by asserting the miracle of creation out of nothing,

where the creator is not an omnipotent being, but a finite and transient complex of material phenomena. Typical theories of the knowledge of physical existence are examined, special attention being given to the Kantian view. He finds no warrant for holding that what seems to us the material world is merely mental, that, e.g., what appears to us to be a table is in fact a plurality of experiencing individuals. Those who hold the monadist theory 'have been driven to posit, besides finite and therefore imperfect individuals, a perfect individual on whom the whole world of finite existence essentially depends. Given the universal mind, it is futile and arbitrary to posit also an endless multiplicity of finite individuals for whose existence we have no evidence and to suppose that the universe is through and through composed of these and nothing else.' The Positive View of Knowledge of Physical Existence forms the subject of Part IV. Professor Stout maintains that mind must be fundamental to the Universe of Being and not derivate from anything that is not mind. If we recognize that Nature cannot exist at all or be what it is apart from a Being beyond it and distinct from it, 'This Being, whatever else it is, must be an eternal and universal Mind, giving to Nature, through and through, a character which is otherwise inexplicable.' This volume prepares the way for a consideration of developments of human experience, more especially the religious, and the ethical in its connexion with religion, which is to come in the second volume. It is not often that an abstruse philosophical subject is worked out with such lucidity and with such an appeal to the ordinary thinker. Its conclusions make us look forward with no small expectation to the volume on *God and Nature* which is to follow.

The English: Are They Human? By Dr. G. J. Renier.
Illustrated by Mendoza. (Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.)

This is England seen through the eyes of an alien resident. 'London looms over the shy foreign visitor, immense, immeasurable. How is he to cope with a town that has no centre,' and where the unmoving faces betray nothing of their preoccupations. Then he becomes a resident, and receives the 'exquisite gift of familiarity.' The Englishman does not disclose his soul, but readily opens his home. A Frenchman may reveal his life secrets after half an hour's acquaintance, but he does not ask one home. The resident alien discovers by degrees that meat of England is peerless, and that of Simpson's the *ne plus ultra* of gastronomic delight. He learns English with effort, but feels a love for it which no Englishman ever feels. 'He refuses to use the abominable and saltless verb "commence" while the sound and peaceful Saxon "begin" is at his disposal. He avoids the split infinitive, because he has noticed that Labour leaders who delight to use it on the platform never resort to it in natural conversation.' Fun is made of the feeling that everybody and everything in England is the best in the world, and the chapter on 'Repressions,' which compares France and England, touches on delicate ground, whilst the account

of the humblest layers of the rural population in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire which has grown out of fellowship in the village inn is not very pleasant.

Individualism, Old and New. By John Dewey. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

Professor Dewey says we are living in a money culture where society is divided into the working and the business group. The mass of American workers live in constant fear of loss of their jobs, 'because our spirit of progress, manifest in change of fashions, invention of new machines, and power of over-production, keeps everything on the move.' The invention of the machine has given business conducted for money a power and scope it never had in the past. The spiritual factor, equal opportunity and full association and intercommunication, is obscured and crowded out. 'Quantification, mechanization, and standardization—these are the marks of the Americanization that is conquering the world.' Mass production is putting the old-type artisan, trained by individual apprenticeship for skilled individual work, out of business. The individual is being submerged by the development of a civilization that is rapidly becoming outwardly corporate. A new type of individuality has to be created. But that means that we must cease opposing the socially corporate to the individual and must 'develop a constructively imaginative observation of the rôle of science and technology in actual society.' Professor Dewey says we are in for some kind of Socialism, but there is a difference between a Socialism that is public and one that is capitalistic. The crisis in culture calls for the recovery of composed, effective, and creative individuality. 'A new culture expressing the possibilities immanent in a machine and material civilization will release whatever is distinctive and potentially creative in individuals, and individuals thus freed will be the constant makers of a continuously new society.' Individuality will again become integral and vital when it creates a frame for itself by attention to the scene in which it must perforce exist and develop. It is a book which makes one think and hope.

The Woman Beautiful, and other Essays. By A. B. Cooper. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.) It is a pleasure to read each of these seventeen essays. 'The Woman Beautiful' is made up of graces which dwell in her heart. Mr. Cooper thinks 'of the world-mothers, the sorrow-bearers, the brave, still, patient, heroic souls whose chiefest and, perchance, only beauty has been the beauty of holiness and the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit.' Such women will be proud to read this tribute. Lovers of Charles Dickens, of Tennyson, and of sounding phrases and poets' preludes, will find much to interest them, and 'The Artistry of London' will make its own appeal. It is a book of real literary charm.

Green Leaves. By John H. Stonehouse. (Sotheran. 1s.) The fifth

and last Green Leaf is given to the Hogarth Family and 'Agnes.' Dickens is broken-hearted at the death of his young sister-in-law Mary, whose native sweetness made her his ideal. John Forster was his guest shortly after her death, and the two men then formed a friendship which never weakened. It is a touching story, and all that is noblest and best in the girls of his novels centres round Mary Hogarth. The younger sister, Georgina, whom Dickens described as 'the best and truest friend man ever had,' is most closely identified with Esther Summerson, in *Bleak House*. Mr. Stonehouse will supply introductions to the Lombard Street edition of the novels of Dickens.

Challenge to Clarissa. By E. M. Delafield. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.) It needed no little courage to challenge Clarissa, and the way in which it was done makes an exciting story. She holds the purse-strings, and her household has to learn the art of implicit obedience, but love plays its part bravely and wins its laurels. The old Princesse has a decisive share in the final victory, and little Cliffe Montgomery is the self-forgetting hero of the story, though one must not forget Bat Clutterthorpe, who never shows himself so much a gentleman as when he loses Sophie. She and Lucien are really made for each other, and are going to have all kinds of happiness.—*Two and Twenty*. By C. S. Forester. (John Lane. 7s. 6d.) Cyril Meryon Leigh, ex-medical student, poet, and pugilist, is such a being as one seldom meets. He is driven to extremities before he ventures into the ring, and his hard-won victory helps his finances but leaves him with a crippled hand. That really changes his fortunes. It is a love-story with a heroine who carries Cyril completely off his feet. His landlady is as much captivated by Lucia as the poet himself. His poetry makes a sensation, but *The Testament of Beauty* opens his eyes to his own limitations, and he gets back to the hospital he had deserted, and is on the way to success when the curtain falls on this exciting story.—*Every Girl's Annual* (Epworth Press) is a tenth volume of an established favourite. Its stories of school, adventure, and sport are full of variety and sparkle; they certainly do not lack fun and high spirits, but they never forget the gentler graces. The covers promise much, and the illustrations in colour and in black and white give charm to almost every page. There is a play for girls called 'Useful Help,' bright verse, and 'The Romance of our Bath Sponge' will add to the interest of a very attractive volume.—*Teeny Weeny's Toyland Book* will capture a child's love at sight. Its covers are really amusing and delightful, and inside is wonderland, with exciting stories and a wealth of pictures in colours and black and white which will make little folk open their eyes with wonder. Artists and authors have put their best into *Teeny Weeny's Toyland*.—Two stories by Mrs. Coulson Kernahan appear in the Everett Library. *The Hired Girl* has a Canadian setting, and centres round a girl of wonderful charm who nearly wrecks her own life and her lover's. How she wins her victory and her happiness makes an exciting story. *The Chance Child* is even more full of

mystery and love, but it has an ending which means happiness for at least two pairs of lovers.—*The Boy Detectives*. By John G. Rowe. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.) The robbers of the diamond mail in Hatton Garden plan their crime with a skill that baffles all the detective staff, but Biron Flett and his boy assistants unravel the plot and get back the jewels after adventures and perils that take away one's breath. It is a real Sherlock Holmes story.—*Rodrigo: The Story of a Spanish Knight* (Epworth Press, 1s.) is the story of Spain's great soldier, the Cid, who won many victories for Ferdinand, King of Castile. It is a welcome addition to *The Epworth Children's Classics*, told with spirit and finely illustrated in colours and black and white by R. B. Ogle. The cover is a beautiful piece of work.—*The Holland Library: Rab and his Friends*, by John Brown; *Rosamund Gray*, by Charles Lamb. (Philip Earle. 6d. each.) Two great stories in a charming coloured wrapper, clearly printed on good paper. They are dainty pocket companions which no one ought to overlook. *The Holland Library* is growing, and is sure to be popular.

The Race Problem in Africa, by Charles R. Buxton, M.P. (Hogarth Press, 1s.), is a plea for justice for the dumb, unrepresented millions of tropical Africa. The laziness and indifference of the electorate must bear the blame, if our administration is made the cat's-paw of short-sighted economic interests. Human equality in its broadest aspect must be steadily kept in view. The native must not be regarded as a being belonging to a different world from ours. The differences between us are largely due to opportunity and environment. Mr. Buxton's suggestions are wise and much needed.—*A Challenge to Neurasthenia*. (Williams & Norgate. 1s. 6d., 2s. 6d.) This is a fourth enlarged and revised edition of a little book which describes the way in which the late Dr. L. S. Barnes, O.B.E., treated his patients. The writer was one of them, and shows how the doctor set himself to enter the patients' prison-house, breathed its air, measured its darkness, and then, with the understanding that such experience alone can bring, took the prisoner by the hand and led him step by step to the threshold. Dr. Barnes felt that to the neurasthenic nothing was obvious but his fears and what appeared to confirm them. The book deserves the attention it has already received.—*The Romance of Sacred Song*, by David J. Beattie. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 6s.) This book is pleasantly comprehensive. It gives facts about many of our favourite hymns and their authors, and is full of stories about the blessing they have brought to young and old. Mr. Beattie has spent years in gathering material, and he puts everything in a happy way. It is a book which is sure of a welcome by all lovers of sacred song.—*The Church Library*, by Elizabeth L. Foote, B.L.S. (Abingdon Press, 75 cents), is a comprehensive manual as to the housing and the selection of books, with directions as to cataloguing and registering them. The duties and opportunities of the librarian are well brought out by one who is herself a trained librarian, and feels the need both of teachers and boy and girl readers.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (July).—Professor Vezzani of Turin discusses 'Our Place in Life,' and finds it to be 'exactly the one we now fill. None other could furnish a better school for our talents, a more efficient way of completion for what is lacking in us; none other could be more adequate for the exigencies of the universal harmony at the present moment.' In 'Reunion and Nonconformity' Dr. Vincent Taylor considers the position taken by the Bishop of Gloucester in *The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion*, the most important book on the subject that our generation has seen. 'Its noble-mindedness, its candour, and its judicial spirit have received the fullest acknowledgement.' He holds that the bishop has given no adequate justification for his confident claim that 'for a united Church the Historic Episcopate is a necessity.' Dr. Headlam admits that Episcopalians have their traditions, beliefs, and prejudices as well as others, and Dr. Taylor recognizes these as the real difficulty, to be overcome only by corporate prayer and devotion. Miss Petre's account of 'M. Loisy's Autobiography' is of special interest.

Expository Times (June).—The pungent Notes on the articles of Father Knox and Hilaire Belloc in *Why I am and Why I am not a Catholic* are timely. Professor N. P. Williams's estimate of 'Great Britain's Recent Contribution to New Testament Study' singles out the elucidation of the Synoptic Problem, of which Canon Streeter's *Four Gospels* is the culmination; and Sir William Ramsay's vindication of the 'South Galatian' theory, 'Thoughts on Prayer and the Divine Immanence,' by Evelyn Underhill, are deeply interesting. She sees that 'the theology of prayer is closely bound up with the theology of the Holy Spirit.'—(July).—The Bishop of Liverpool writes on 'Sunday Observance' as one of the 'Moral Problems of To-day.' The obligation of worship is not only a duty towards God, but is also the highest and the most effective form of rest. Christian citizens have the further duty of exerting their influence to secure a reasonable regulation of Sunday which may apply to all. What will count for most is not denunciation of Sabbath-breakers, but our witness by example to the duty and value of public worship. Dr. Gossip's 'On Preaching the Cross' holds that it becomes effective for us only if we adopt its spirit and catch its infection, and live our lives in our small way according to that plan. Dr. Donald Mackenzie's 'The Contribution of America to Systematic Theology and the Modern Situation' is of special interest, and the Rev. F. B. Clogg, in 'Recent Linguistic Aids to the Study of the New Testament,' pays deserved tribute to Dr. James Moulton and Dr. Wilbert Howard.—(August).—The account of Professor J. A. Selbie, who was the chief coadjutor of Dr. Hastings in the preparation of his dictionaries and then filled

the Hebrew chair at Aberdeen, is a worthy tribute to a great scholar. 'France's Contribution to Systematic Theology' describes Auguste Sabatier as one of the finest figures in the world of liberal theology. His aim was 'to save the faith of his students.'

Church Quarterly Review (July).—Dr. Headlam sets himself to 'expound systematically and intelligently our theological knowledge' in an important article. After considering purely intellectual questions, he shows that religion concerns itself with the whole life of mankind, not only with his reason and intellect, but with his feelings, his desires, his emotions, his passions. Dr. G. A. Michell criticizes Canon Streeter's treatment in *The Primitive Church* of Ignatius, and episcopacy, and thinks that the Canon's theory may be finally dismissed. Dr. Sparrow-Simpson's study of 'George Eliot's Religion' is of special interest.

Congregational Quarterly (July).—Dr. Peel's note on the Congregational Position in regard to Education is interesting. Mr. H. G. Wood writes on 'The Free Churches and National Education,' with a view to the renewed crisis, and the Rev. K. L. Parry criticizes his position. Robert Mackintosh, in 'My Experiments in Authorship,' gives some intimate details about publishers.

Holborn Review (July).—Mr. F. A. Thompson, in 'The Theology of Karl Barth,' says that there are unwelcome tendencies in the school which must go far to minimize its worth and service. It seeks to solve by dogmatic pronouncement problems that are eminently capable only of the most patient scientific treatment. They appear to treat the history of religion as unimportant, and show little or no recognition of truth outside Christianity. 'This is to dig a cleft, fatal to themselves, between theology and truth, and to do despite to the honourable place which the scientific study of religion has won for itself by its unfettered freedom of approach.'

Cornhill (July).—Charles Dickens tells Lady Burdett-Coutts from Rome how he likes the common people of Italy, and finds in the Bay of Genoa charms which the Bay of Naples wants. 'Genoa is very picturesque and beautiful, and the house we live in is really like a Palace in a Fairy Tale.' 'The Coliseum by daylight, moonlight, torchlight, and every sort of light, is most stupendous and awful. Saint Peter's not so impressive within as many cathedrals I have seen at home.' 'Filming a Volcano,' 'Fashion in Fancy Street,' and the Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott's butler, and Laurie Magnus's 'Josephus' are full of interest.

Science Progress (July).—Sir John Russell describes the 'Agricultural Development of the Empire' in regions which he himself has visited and studied, and in India which he has not visited. In wheat, meat, dairy produce, and fruit the possibilities of production are expanding in excess of present-day consumption, so that farmers are everywhere depressed by low prices. That is in striking contrast to

the feeling thirty years ago, when it was thought on good grounds that the supply of food could not keep pace with the demand. 'In ensuring food supplies for the world the farmer has come near to starving himself. That is the new problem with which the present generation is faced.'

John Rylands Bulletin (July).—The valuable 'Notes and News,' and the papers on 'Pascal the Writer,' 'Some Unpublished Correspondence of Richard Baxter and John Eliot,' and the studies of the Medicean Codex of Vergil, and the Documents of the Conciliar Movement are important features of this strong number.

Cambridge Public Library Record (June).—'Newspaper Work in Cambridge,' 'Cambridge Periodicals,' 'Wicken Fen, Nature Notes,' and a wonderful list of additions to the Library, made this a number of real value and interest.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—In the opening article of the April number Dr. Morton S. Enslie reviews Professor Benjamin W. Bacon's latest work, *Studies in Matthew*. It is described as taking its place, 'with Streeter's *The Four Gospels*, as one of the most significant contributions to Gospel criticism since the days of Bernhard Weiss and H. J. Holtzmann.' Of especial value is Bacon's 'sane examination of the *Logia* of Papias.' Twelve years' careful study has confirmed the opinion expressed in the *Expositor* (1918) that the Athos manuscript known as 'The Five Books of Matthew against the Jews' is by Matthew the apostle, though it is catalogued as the work of Matthew the monk. The canonical Gospel of Matthew is held to have been constructed upon this plan of 'Five Books,' and to writers of the second century it might well appear as the great apostolic 'refutation of the Jews.' Bacon argues for 'an even more complete use of Mark than has usually been asserted,' and reduces to a minimum the amount of Mark which Matthew omitted. A critical examination of 'Chrysostom's Text of the Gospel of Mark' leads to the conclusions that it was 'peculiar to himself, and full of unattested variants'; that it is 'a mixture of neutral, Western, Caesarean, and other readings,' and that no 'New Testament manuscript closely resembling it is at present known.'

Journal of Religion (July).—G. W. Richards, in 'The Place of Adolph von Harnack among Christian Historians,' describes him as a richly gifted personality, a master of source work, and skilled in the presentation of massive material in clear, fascinating form. His *History of Dogma* is a work of literary art, full of vitality, interest, and rich in power of fascinating the reader. He was brilliant as a lecturer, capable of inspiring his pupils with enthusiasm for history, as well as guiding them with never-failing patience in the scientific mastery of its content. He was a man of the finest culture, with sympathies wide as humanity; he bowed reverently and humbly before the mystery

of the universe and life. Dr Haroutunian, in 'Jonathan Edwards: A Study in Godliness,' says his faith was a vision. Therefore it shaped his thought and governed his conduct. 'He is our witness to the truth that God reveals himself to men of vision and power.'

Methodist Review (May—June).—This is the last number of a Review which has served the Methodist Episcopal Church nobly for 118 years. It has had a splendid succession of editors who have enlisted the service of the leading scholars of Methodism, and the present number, with its sketches of Professor Rogers and Bishop Berry, its articles on 'The Negro Spirituals and the Hebrew Psalms,' 'Business as the Maker of Morals,' and Dr. Wilbert Howard's 'Christ, the Lord of the Scriptures,' is rich in good things. Dr. Howard's article is an important justification for the Christian use of the Old Testament, which was 'the devotional manual and religious text-book of Jesus Christ.' Many will sorely miss this fine quarterly.

Moslem World (July).—Tribute is paid to Edward Sachau and Theodor Nöldeke, two great Semitic scholars. Nöldeke was the last of Ewald's pupils, and had wide interests in Moslem life and literature. An interesting account is given of 'A Persian Apostle, Benjamin Badal,' who did noble service as a pioneer colporteur in Persia. 'The Chams of French Indo-China' have no mission work carried on among them, but seem as though they would be peculiarly responsive to the gospel.

CANADIAN

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (May—June). — Mr. Maynard hopes 'The Renaissance of Hebrew' as a spoken language which is closely connected with Zionism may renew enthusiasm among teachers of the language, and that a term at the University of Jerusalem may become as much a desideratum for Hebrew teaching as a stay in Paris or Grenoble for a professor of French. 'Old Wine in New Bottles,' by W. G. Rose, describes the remaking of humanity in Canada, where immigrants who were little else but tools in their old homes are now 'active members' in civil or religious life. He gives a series of 'Surprises' and 'Encounters' which bear out his statement in a striking way. 'The Church of all Nations,' opened in Toronto, three years ago, has proved one of the most interesting in the Dominion.

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (June).—'Kingship in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa' points to the king's divine right. He is stable in his throne when the people love him. The rude patriarchal people ungrudgingly obey their headman. Mr. Rao regards Indian 'Nationalization' as 'a national programme of advancement through the action of a democratic system of Government based upon the sanctity of popular rights, and affording equal opportunities for all to participate in the national dividend according to their work.'



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